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Sun Yat-sen — Citizen of the World*

Kenneth N. Grigg

Once upon a time the British Empire was the empire upon which the sun never set. How times have changed! And now the winds of change are also blowing at a gale through China. Its people are aghast at what they did to themselves in the Cultural Revolution. That Revolution was the "hinge of fate" for Post-Liberation China because it demonstrated the absurdity that rigid Marxism, an article of faith, can reach when taken to extreme — such as when students hurled tiles from the roof of Peking University at each other — all in the name of ideological purity! Of course travesties can make a caricature out of any system, no matter how sound or sensible. Nevertheless, because the Cultural Revolution had such a profoundly ideological basis, and because there is now so much internal questioning amongst the Chinese people themselves, it is relevant to probe Marxist theory for any flaws.

If there is, indeed, a flaw, then it is certainly necessary for it to be corrected for the sake of the Chinese people, for,

thirty years after "Liberation", their living standards are obviously still much lower than those of Western entrepreneurial nations including those devastated in the Second World War, and indeed, lower than those of Asian regions such as Japan, Taiwan and South Korea that are integrated into the entrepreneurial West. To be sure, these countries have received massive infusions of capital, but that capital had to be physically generated, and generated it was in entrepreneurial societies, and on a scale that Marxist economies have nowhere matched. This inferior standard of living is something which the Chinese people have been questioning. Have they, in their spartan living, been making a virtue out of necessity? And yet, in China there is a general standard of morality which is much higher than that of many Westernized countries; and there is an absence of that dire poverty and malnutrition which marked "pre-Liberation" China and which still marks so many countries of the Third World.

Is there a way forward for China

* This article was first presented to the Conference on the History of the Republic of China held in Taipei on August 23-28, 1981, and is reproduced here with the permission of the Conference Secretariat.

which will enable her people to enjoy the fruits of technology and entrepreneurial latitude *without* being bound by the exploitation and poverty that seems to go cheek by jowl with it — indeed, as near close by as Hong Kōng? This paper seeks in outline to answer that question, both by discussing a perceived flaw in Marxist analysis and by indicating a new direction which, for China, would really be a re-discovery, to which Taiwan may well hold the key.

Reduced to its essence, Marxism asserts that *all* value is labour value, but that the ownership of the means of production gives ownership such power over mere labour that the wages received by labour are much less than their rightful value. This surplus value is an unearned profit retained by the owners of capital who employ labour; and this exploitative situation is intrinsic to the “capitalist mode of production.”

One of the great difficulties faced in discussion of “capitalism” is the fact that nowhere has Marx given us a clear definition of what he meant by “capital.” Confusion is compounded when factors diversely contributing to production or else holding power over it, are indiscriminately assigned monetary values which are then lumped together as “capital” in columns of accounts. And those with a vested interest in holding on to such “capital” in Western economies are quite happy to make bedfellows with the Marxists in this matter — in the name of private enterprise and the sacredness of private property! The real “capital,” later defined, of a “capitalist” enterprise may be comparatively limited, but its legal power over prices and profits may be enormous. Such power is granted, for example, under prohibitive tariff protection. So the capitalized value of

monopolies, the capitalized figure of patent rights and royalties and the value of land, buildings, machinery and shares all get lumped together as “capital.” The owner of all such is then called a “capitalist” if he uses this accumulated sum in an entrepreneurial sense to employ labour, from which it is wrongly inferred that the wages of labour are paid out of the “wages fund” which accumulates in profits from the further productive efforts of labour, and that the surplus goes to the capitalist.

The Marxist conclusion drawn from this scenario is that private entrepreneurship, private accumulation of capital and the private employment of labour is synonymous with exploitation, and that the exploitation of labour is to be ended only by the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange. People are to be rewarded in wages according to the value of their work, but there is no room for the private entrepreneurial employment of others, which is construed as being part and parcel of avaricious capitalism. That there was no place for tall, self-grown poppies was the essence of the Cultural Revolution. But it set the Chinese people of the mainland back a full generation! (One can also think the passing thought that if the State is the supreme employer, then how must one rate the wages that it pays its employees!)

To test the validity of the Marxist analysis, it is necessary to trace the growth of the “capitalist mode of production” back to its origins. And it is when we do precisely THAT that a disastrous flaw in Marx’s reasoning can be detected. Why disastrous? Because, in the final event it led to the disaster of the Cultural Revolution!

In Section 24 of Vol. 1 of *Das Capital*,

Marx talks about the origins of Capitalism and of a mere wage working class and about the origins of the accumulation of capital that led to the "capitalist mode of production." Then he comes to some very significant words — words the significance of which apparently escaped him. He says:

"THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCER, OF THE PEASANT, FROM THE SOIL, IS THE BASIS OF THE WHOLE PROCESS."

and he proceeds to state that it was uniquely in England that this process was to be seen in its purest form. He gives an account of English economic history from feudal times and shows how the common people were, over the centuries, robbed of their lands by the ruling "nobility," so that by the time of the Industrial Revolution, there was a great class of landless labourers reduced to poverty, who had to work for what they could get — or else starve, their economic bargaining power having been destroyed. Such, then, were the origins of the "capitalist mode of production." Thorold Rogers traced this same process through in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*. We may also note that the peasant farmers of Japan suffered a similar fate in the thrust towards industrialization in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

Marx proceeded to say that the capitalist class must be done away with so that no one could make an unearned profit out of the surplus value of anyone else's labour. "Profit" became a bourgeois, dirty word. And yet, now in China, it is becoming a feature of modernization that enterprises must be able to pay their way — be profitable — that

economic reality and the need for expertise in modernization must have precedence over mere ideological correctness. But, to repeat, does the necessity for such a new policy imply that the ideology has been INCORRECT? If this is so, then it has tremendous implication for China.

If indeed it is a fact that it is "the expropriation of the people from the soil" that is *the basis* for the whole process of exploitative "capitalism," then it would surely seem logical that the first thing to do is to destroy the basis, that is, to correct the condition of "expropriation of the people from the soil," and to "re-inherit" the whole people into their full and equal rights in the land.

But Marx did NOT specifically do this. Instead, he set out, in terms of industrialized society, to socialize capital, by which I mean the abolition of any private ownership or equity in machinery, etc., i.e., in the physical instruments of production. So, in China, it has been ideological anathema for there to be any private accumulation of wealth — other than for a small range of consumer items.

Actually, for discussion to get anywhere at all, a strict definition is needed of what is meant by "capital," and the following applies:

WEALTH is anything which is the product of labour applied to land or upon land, the term LAND being used generically to include all natural resources. The definition of CAPITAL follows on from it: CAPITAL is that fraction of physical wealth which is devoted to the facilitation of labour in the production of more wealth.

Such a definition of CAPITAL therefore includes all technology, and it highlights the rational need for the

intense accumulation of capital in the cause of modernization. Such capital must be accumulated either through local generation, or through the economies of trading exchange.

Capital as defined will, of course, have a real monetary value which, like that of all other goods, is determined through exchange in the market place. But by definition, CAPITAL does NOT comprise LAND (which is not a man-made commodity, continuously reproducible); nor does CAPITAL consist at all in that monopoly value of land which derives from its fertility or location; nor does it consist in the capitalization figure of any other privilege or monopoly.

I am now going to refer somewhat extensively to the politico-economic philosophy of Henry George, partly because his ideas found fertile soil in the Antipodean climes of Australia and New Zealand whence I myself come, but in particular because he had so profound an influence upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic. It will be my intention to advance the view that the future for China lies with George rather than with Marx, and with the inspiration of rediscovery of the programme of Dr. Sun Yat-sen for China, rather than clinging to the Marxist precepts of Mao. There has been a partial application of the ideas of Henry George in Australia and New Zealand both in land value taxation and in the widespread use of land value rating for government at the municipal level. But it has been partial only — and for that reason the price of land in Australia is today inordinately high, and the root cause for massive and chronic unemployment in this decade. And there has been partial application of Henry George's philosophy in Taiwan to

the extent that Sun Yat-sen's programme for the "equalization of land rights" has been put into operation, and to the extent that "unearned increment" in the value of land has been publicly appropriated. However, it is my view that the full impact of Henry George's economic philosophy *as an alternative to Marxism* has yet to be applied anywhere in the world. Imagine, for the sake of the argument that the whole of Australia — or Taiwan — had been bought up by the oil sheiks, and that they then rented the land back to us, the local peasants, to live and work on. What would their rent roll run into? It would be thousands upon thousands of millions of dollars per year. In essence, the fully developed Georgeist programme would be that the land rents of Australia and of New Zealand and of Taiwan — as indeed of every other country — should be shared in by the whole community — that they should be collected in the form of a public, general land tax by the government as its primary, natural source for revenue. George pointed out that all production comes from — can only come from — labour and capital applied to land. And so, if the government obtains its revenue from the locational value of the land — from the source, the gateway, to all production — then it is not necessary to impose taxes upon the labour and the capital. George asserted that to tax labour and capital is to discourage them, whereas to tax the value of land holding is to promote its use, to penalize its withholding, and to thereby open the gateway for labour and capital.

I have developed this theme for the precise reason that this political philosophy had tremendous influence upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his formative years

in the latter decades of the last century, and it spilled out in his famous Principle of the Livelihood of the People. To be sure, Dr. Sun Yat-sen talked in terms of the somewhat lesser goal of the public collection of *future* unearned increment, particularly in the cities, but the underlying influence and inspiration was there. In Taiwan under the "land to the tiller" programme, the rent of the land has in a sense been socialized to the extent that the advantages in land holding have been spread amongst the farmers. And, under the Communist regime of mainland China, insofar as the land and natural resources are communally owned, the rent of the land has been virtually socialized — without them recognizing it for what it is, nor how important a factor it has been in the improvement of the economic lot of the people. But the central theme that I want to develop is that it is possible to achieve the necessary equalization of rights in the land and natural resources of a country, as espoused by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and yet at the same time allow private entrepreneurship and all the benefits of a free market economy. Sun Yat-sen was a citizen of China, yet at the same time he was truly a "citizen of the world," because he drew his inspiration from streams of thought that gave hopes of justice and freedom in lands across the globe — in America, in Britain and in the Antipodes. And it is precisely because the name of Sun Yat-sen is revered and taken notice of in Taiwan that I believe that island is uniquely placed to be in the sociological vanguard of the nations of the world, and uniquely placed to show the whole of the Chinese people the way forward in their quest for modernization. Taiwan is in the position, with its contacts with the West — just as

Sun Yat-sen had his contacts with the West — to make the best of both worlds. It is able to indulge in those efficiencies in modernization that are available to her because she has no ideological "hangup" about the advantages in entrepreneurship. Yet at the same time she could quite easily champion a full-fledged Georgeist programme under the banner of Sun Yat-sen as the relevant alternative to the Marxism of Mao that has run out of steam.

We now have the advantage of the wisdom of hindsight to be able to perceive issues more clearly, and I would like to give a "briefing" of current Georgeist thinking in Australia of the 1980's that I hope will be useful in debate and dialogue with Marxists.

Henry George, as the American contemporary of Karl Marx, and author of the classic *Progress and Poverty*, shared with Marx an identical view of the historical antecedents of the exploitation of the common people; but he followed the logic to its inexorable and proper conclusion. He asserted that there was no INTRINSIC power residing in private ownership of capital that gave the ownership of capital power to exploit; rather, it was the historic development of private monopoly in land — in the ownership of the earth — which, by excluding the common people from the land — from the basic source of all livelihood — (a) destroyed their economic bargaining power, (b) reduced them to being mere wage workers, and (c) enabled the owners of landed property to accumulate wealth that should rightfully have gone to the workers as part of their fair wages. So, if you like, the "capitalist mode of production" was born. But it really had nothing to do, in its origins, with the private ownership of accumulated

wealth, of "capital." On the other hand it had everything to do with the economic tyranny of capitalized monopoly, of monopoly, first and foremost, in the ownership of the earth. George explained the depressed conditions of European workers on this basis. By way of contrast, in what were then new lands, such as Australia and New Zealand, real wages were high, even if life in pioneering days was primitive.

Indeed, why is the lot of the Chinese people now so much better than it was in former times? At the basic level, it is because they have been freed from war and from the rapacity of landlords. And why is there still so much poverty in the Philippines and in Latin America and in so much of Asia? It is because the landlord-landless peasant situation still exists.

It is important to understand that the conditions in Scotland and Ireland and England were as bad for the landless labourer as they were for the landless peasant in China-worldwide conditions that Sun Yat-sen was quite aware of.

It was because some people by force, fraud, or power of law became great owners of land that *they* were able to amass capital that would otherwise have been equitably shared throughout the realm of England, had the producers, i.e., the workers, been able to retain their share of equity in, and common access to, the lands of England. Just how pitiable, powerless and bemused they became will be clear from reading the speech delivered in Glasgow by Henry George on "Scotland and Scotsmen." Even today, when land is so dear in Westernized countries including both Japan and Australia, despite modernization, many young people are really landless peasants, kept alive purely

because there are unemployment "dole" handouts. As part of the picture, in Hong Kong commercial land on the water front has fetched HK\$146,000 *persquare metre*! But this is not "capitalism" gone mad; it is *capitalized monopoly* run riot. And there is a world of difference that it is as vital to be understood in Taiwan as in Hong Kong or any other region with Western associations. It is what happens when the benefits of economic and scientific and social advance are allowed, because of private equity in the holding of land, to become capitalized, for private profit, into the price of land. It is NOT a profit that comes from the expenditure of one's own private, personal exertion, nor from the accumulation of capital therefrom. It is a profit that comes, unearned, under conditions of outright private ownership of land, from the ability to capitalize upon the productive efforts and hopes of the whole community. And it was Henry George, not Karl Marx, who drew the distinction.

Indeed, it was at this point that Henry George parted company with Karl Marx. George said that Marx had, by jumping to wrong conclusions, veered off-target, and had written a wrong programme based upon a wrong diagnosis. It is not surprising, perhaps, that Marx should call George the "last ditch stand of the capitalists;" and it is equally not surprising that George called Marx the "Prince of Muddleheads." Well, in China there were a lot of sore heads as a result of the Cultural Revolution!

Marx said that land must be communally owned, but that so also must be all of the means of production. Workers must "serve the people" through this all-embracing Socialism. So, in the fullness of time, true Communism would

evolve, and the nature of Man would be changed. The Cultural Revolution was an attempt to short-circuit, to accelerate, the process.

George took a much more sanguine and realistic view of human nature. Firstly, he asserted that it was in the very nature of Man to be a "free" spirit, and his book *Progress and Poverty* climaxes in an ode to Liberty. When men are free in their associations with each other, including their economic relationships — when they are free in equal freedom — then, and then only, is it possible for cooperation within society to flourish to the mutual benefit of all. But such hopes could not get to first base, so long as private ownership of the resources of the earth held sway. George perceived that in the cooperative phenomena of society, there was a bonus, a dividend, that came to mankind by way of increased material and spiritual prosperity, and that elevated his way of life above that of the crudities of isolated existence. This bonus of production came from the economies in effort that the organism of community, of Society, brought forth by virtue of the fact of its very existence. It was a bonus that revealed itself in the enhanced usefulness and desirability of land from location to location, dependent upon not only its "on site" fertility, but upon many other factors, e.g., variety of concentration in population. In economic terms, it was to be expressed in the rent of the land. Private ownership of land was really the private appropriation of its rent — or of its ability to yield rent. The great extremes of wealth and poverty arose when the owners of land could deny its productive use to others, or else could glean the socially produced rent to their private advantage. Such

accumulated wealth was then transmuted, monetarily, into "capital." It was this end result that Marx saw. It was in his analysis of its constituent parts that he went astray.

Marx, and through him Communism, looks to the resolution of conflict through clash and counterclash, in the course of which millions have perished. But it is cooperation, harmony and peace which produce all social progress. Conflict produces only decay, loss, retrogression and ultimate social death.

Thus George had an entirely different outlook from Marx on the structure of Society. He dwelt on the fundamental importance to Society of the concept of Economic Rent. He perceived that trade and cooperation meant social life and civilization, and that trade engendered rent. He gave the example of the pioneer who settles on a boundless plain of fertile soil. Life for him is primitive; yet by dint of labour his living is guaranteed. Then along comes another pioneer, then others. Where do they settle? Why, on similar land, but close to the first. By their very act of human association, these people afford to each other, in countless unfolding ways, mutual services that yield enormous savings, ECONOMIES, in effort. Thus human association endows land with a greater and greater role in productivity wherever association occurs.

Thus, where, formerly, on one acre of land a farmer might grow, say, ten bags of grain, now, on one acre upon which factories are built, a thousand men, working together, produce the equivalent of many bags, in the technical marvels of modernization. Thus, where people are concentrated into cities the size of Peking and Shanghai and Canton, the productivity potential from human

association is prodigious, compared with, say, the productivity per acre of rural paddy fields in the South; whilst these rich rice-yielding areas would, in turn, for reasons of climate and fertility, have greater productivity than the grainlands of high Tibet. And just as it is the rationality of association that brings men together into centres of civilization, so also it is that selfsame rationality that causes men to choose good agricultural land over what is seen to be marginal. This bonus from human association and cooperation attaches to land of superior location and is termed "economic rent."

So George perceived that economic rent, expressed in the differential productivity of land as utilized by men from site to site, was the measure of that social saving in effort, that *ECONOMY*, which arises when men have access to utilize land, and when, in so doing, they are able to utilize it to its greatest advantage. Thus the best-situated land will always lie at a premium; and the rental that it will fetch, as determined by the market, is the social value of effort saved in the course of production, and of extra amenities enjoyed; it is the index of the greatest economy, of greatest yield of satisfactions, that social organization can bring forth; of cooperation and harmony.

By allowing free competition to measure the rental value, or potential value, of each piece of land, and by channelling this by means of an annual levy on land rent, George portrayed how economic rent — the social dividend — the social bonus that springs from those economies to which the community gives rise through the very fact of its existence — could be gathered for community needs. In Peking and Shanghai and Canton and in many other cities,

this "economic rent" from land would, as in New York and London and Hong Kong, yield a bonus of income to those communities of thousands of millions of dollars per year. How astronomical must be the value of human association expressed in the rent potential of commercial sites along the Bund! This, then, was the true Socialism, the common benefit that free men afford to each other in the very act of their social interrelationships. George perceived in this a natural law, akin to any of the "natural laws" of the physical sciences. It was the primary law in economics, the Law of Rent, rooted in the fundamental psychological propensity of men to seek to save effort.

George visualised that if this Law were to be observed, then the relationships between men would be harmonious, that is to say, if economic rent were to be socialized; but that if it were to be ignored; if economic rent could become the private property of some men who thereby saved themselves effort at the expense of all other men, then dire poverty would be the fate of many, despite all social and scientific progress; indeed, as such progress continued — thereby making land all the more valuable — the process of misappropriation of economic rent would all the more intensify. But in his scheme for the socialization of land rent through site value "taxing" or "rating," George looked for a radical yet liberal and non-violent solution to Society's ills. The clash and counterclash of dialectical materialism had no place in the thinking of a man who saw in the Law of Rent the beauty and wisdom of that same Authorship before which Einstein also stood in awe.

In terms of his own analysis, George asserted that there should first be

JUSTICE. Goodwill and cooperation must first be rooted in Justice. He believed in and championed the rights of the individual in society; he asserted the right of society to the rent of the earth. Such was the proper tension between the two. Thus:

(a) The product of the land belongs to the producer, provided that he pays the rent

(b) There must be common equity in the value of land

(c) There may be private holding of land for use BUT

(d) The full annual rental of the land must be paid to the people (through the State) by whomsoever holds it privately

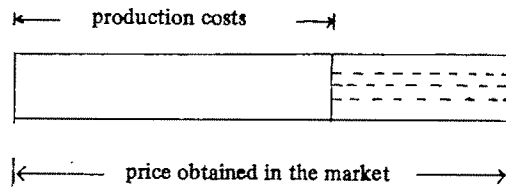
(e) Land is recognized to vary in its value from location to location because of its fertility, access to markets, and so forth. Hence there are different rents for different parcels of land. The payment of rents into community revenue would be the great method of applying *equalization of land rights*, even though land might be privately held or farmed or used for an industry.

George made a major point out of the fact that it is intrinsic to human nature to seek to save effort, and the rationality of this was the basis for sound economic action. Indeed, it must be the basis for any hopes that the mass of the Chinese people might have for modernization this century. George was therefore all in favour of the private accumulation of capital by producers, in their own right.

In seeking to save effort, people will want to utilize the best land available first (which is why good land is at a premium and commands the highest rent) and they will want to employ capital in using the land in getting the greatest return from it. And they will also want

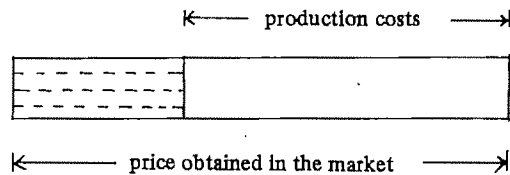
to be able to freely trade and exchange their products for other articles, at the most advantageous prices. That is merely economic common sense.

Consider a farmer who produces a crop:



The dotted section represents the profit to him; and whilst his efforts can command this return WHICH IS REALLY HIS WAGES the value of which is socially determined in the market place, then he has a good incentive to keep on producing. From this profit he can both make a living and also accumulate capital — and so buy a tractor! So the living standard of this farmer rises.

In the city there are producers who make tractors, and again the dotted area shows the profit of price over costs. "Profit" is the excess of what the market is prepared to pay over the costs involved in supplying the market. Note that Wages are a "distributive" part of the total price received, and that they command their share of "profit."



The dotted areas, taken together, show mutual profit because of expertise and advantages in particular fields. But this mutual profit is really MUTUAL ECONOMY IN EFFORT. There is no exploitation if there is mutual benefit. The city dwellers will buy the peasant's

rice or wheat which HE can grow with more efficient economy in effort than they can. And he will buy the tractors and other items that THEY can make with much greater efficiency than he can (than he can by, say, running a steel furnace in his back yard like he tried once upon a time at Chairman Mao's direction). So the wealth accumulation is maximized for everyone.

But what of the wages of the city worker, employed in a factory? Will he not be subjected to exploitation? Here again George gives an exposition that Marx missed. The baseline of wages for the city worker will be set by that level of wages which the rural worker can obtain from working upon land that attracts the least rent. If land is monopolized, then the "submarginal land," that is, land that attracts no rental payment, will be poorer and poorer in quality. But where the full rent is required to be paid, then the best land will be fully utilized first, and so the "rent line" will shrink inwards. Thus a better quality of land at the margin will be rent-free, and net returns to wages will be higher. This is the rent line which sets the base for the lowest level of wages everywhere. But the city-based factory will be built on a site that will be valuable as industrial land. And, again the city dweller has many social advantages that the rural dweller lacks. So city rents for land of all classes of use will be correspondingly higher. This rent question is the land question, and the land question is the labour question, and the *socialization of the locational rent-value of land* is the basis for justice in human economic relationships. It is the basis upon which the private accumulation of capital and private entrepreneurship has no power to exploit. It is thus the basis

upon which China's hopes for speedy modernization with maximum employment of the prodigious potential of its people is to be achieved.

To restate the argument:

The city worker will not be prepared, nor can he be forced, to work for any less wages than the rural peasant who is self-employed on the land; because the payment of land rents is the great economic equalizer of opportunity. This is the ultimate, logical end of the argument that derives from the fact that, to again quote Marx, "*it was the expropriation of the people from the soil*" (and to interpolate George, it was NOT the intrinsic ownership of capital) that gave rise to exploitation.

So, the greater the incentive that the peasant has to produce for the market the harder he will work; and the more he accumulates capital, the more he will in turn be able himself to become the market for the goods that the industrial worker produces in the city. THE CURE FOR THE UNEMPLOYMENT OF CHINESE YOUTH IN THE CITIES IS TO INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE PEASANTS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. And the price mechanism of a free market will be the best regulator of the directions in which accumulated capital will be spent with maximum economy in the country's resources.

"Industry as the leading factor" must start from the private holding of land by the peasants to work as hard as they care to, just so long as they pay the fair annual rent for the land that they hold. They are thus to be encouraged to accumulate capital. When, through this rental equalization of land rights, private monopoly in land is prevented — peasant proprietorship but no

landlordism! — then “capitalism,” by which I mean the private accumulation and use of capital, need no longer be a dirty word. The peasant works hardest who works for himself. Advance in agriculture is the key to advance in industry. It is the key to China’s modernization. It is the key to the freeing of her people from the sheer physical tyranny of toil. **THE PEASANT WORKS HARDEST WHO WORKS FOR HIMSELF!** But in working to serve the market upon which he depends, i.e., by working to supply and satisfy the market with the goods it demands, he thereby automatically **SERVES THE PEOPLE.**

**THE PEASANT WILL WORK
HARDEST WHO WORKS
FOR HIMSELF!**

Despite the disapproval of Mao, this has been recognized in mainland China to the extent that peasants have been allowed to work their own private plots and then to sell their produce at a market. The logical inference from this is that the greatest output of agricultural production is going to occur if **ALL** the land were to be released to the peasants on the basis of privately held plots — which is **NOT** to rule out the socially desirable aspects of communes as rural cooperatives.

Since the great bulk of the Chinese people are based in agriculture, this would surely provide the greatest incentive to production — and far less time would need to be taken up in ideological exhortations to accomplish it! It is only from superabundant production that the accumulation of physical capital can arise. The greater the production, the greater the creation of capital, the better-off

the peasants will be. **WHAT HOLDS THIS BACK IS THE UTTERLY WRONG INFERENCE FROM MARX’S STATEMENT. IT IS, IN FACT, NOT THE PRIVATE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL THAT IS THE SOURCE OF EXPLOITATION. RATHER, IT WAS THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE PEOPLE FROM THE SOIL. THE PROPER RESPONSE, THE LOGICAL INFERENCE, SURELY, IS TO RESTORE THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE SOIL!**

For a nation who, for a generation has been brought up on Marx-Mao, to suggest that Marx was off-target, demands a Great Mental Leap Forward. Yet, in the due unfolding of time, it was Marx’s antipathy to private incentive and to private accumulation of capital that led to the disaster of the Cultural Revolution. And Mao let it happen! This took the joy out of life for the people, forging a bondage rather than a Liberation.

There is now that most significant figure in modern Chinese history to whom I again return, the Father of the Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In his great Principle of the Livelihood of the People, in setting forth his programme for the Equalization of Land Rights, he described the true Socialism, the “common wealth” of the people. In this Sun Yat-sen followed the path of Henry George and not that of Karl Marx.

Could it be that Sun Yat-sen, with his ideas based upon Henry George, was correct? Has his time now come for China now that it is freed from the rackrenting landlord and from war? Should Sun Yat-sen be rediscovered, reassessed and reinstated in policy formulations for the modernization of China? “Modernization” means, implies, needs,

massive capital generation, massive capital accumulation, massive internal economy of effort. Is, after all, the key to be found in Sun Yat-sen's own programme for the modernization of China? — which he set out more than half a century ago, taking as its fundamental economic base the Socialization of the Rent of the Land — which rent, as we have seen, is really the progressive social dividend from community organization, national growth and specialization. Is it further to be found in the encouragement of the peasants and workers to accumulate capital as quickly and as economically as possible?

There are welcome signs that mainland China's top leadership sees the need for people to have incentives. But can they escape from the straitjacket of that mistaken Marxist theory which still lies as a spectre behind the origins of the Cultural Revolution? It is very unlikely that they have ever heard of the radical alternative of Henry George, nor given much attention in recent times, to the National Programme for Modernization of Sun Yat-sen. And this is the excuse why I, a Western layman, have been constrained to write this paper. It is born out of a great affection for the Chinese people, and it is born out of the fact that, strangely, those selfsame influences that fashioned the political philosophy of Dr. Sun Yat-sen have, two generations later, fashioned my own. Henry George, through his writings and his lecture tours, both to the United Kingdom and to the Antipodes, as well as in the United States, attracted many in his own time to the cogency and the beauty of his outlook. Such was the background to the formative years of Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Sun, widely

travelled in the West, to London and to New York and to San Francisco, widely travelled in a sense that was not to be the fortune of Mao Tse-tung, gained a breadth of background to be able to sense what was good and what was to be rejected in what the West had to offer. In many ways the West let him down — and that is to the discredit of the West. It sought to carve up China. Today we do not witness the domination of China by other nations, but we do witness the domination of so many countries by the transnational corporations. Let China beware! Thus, for China's future, the experience of Sun Yat-sen becomes more and more relevant!

It is to me highly significant that the name of Sun Yat-sen is also honoured in Taiwan, and that in Taiwan the social philosophy of Henry George, through the influence of Sun Yat-sen, has been put into at least partial effect. Could it be that under the banner of Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Republic, both modernization and reunification will, in the fullness of time, become a peaceful reality? Will his Manifesto for China again be written large, as it once was, on each side of the Great South Gate of the Forbidden City?

So then, on the one hand we have the stream of Marx-Lenin-Mao; and on the other we have the stream of George-Tolstoy-Sun. In both cases the West, along with Russia, meets the East.

Will Sun Yat-sen's Program for China, bypassing the capitalized monopoly systems of the West, and aiming straight for a liberalized society, become the model for the Third Alternative for the Third World? For Africa, Asia and The Americas alike? The Program of Sun Yat-sen, Citizen of the World?

“Why can the West not solve the social problem?

BECAUSE IT HAS NOT SOLVED THE LAND PROBLEM.

After China has practised the social revolution, private individuals will never pay taxes. There will be only this one item of land tax and China will become

the richest country in the world, and no other country will be able to equal this socialist state.”

—SUN YAT-SEN
1906

Historical Roots of Changes in Women's Status in Modern China*

Li Yu-ning

(李又寧)

The history of Chinese women is still a field in which little research has been done. I personally believe that two urgent tasks have to be attended to simultaneously in this area. One is to gather, sort out and preserve data extensively, and the other is to achieve a consensus about their interpretation. It is about the latter that I would like to express my views.

There are many books on Chinese women. They share a common feature — the presentation of a sharp contrast between the position of Chinese women of the past and the changes that have taken place in the 20th century. The women of old China are generally described as weak and incompetent, as docile victims of a feudal society and patriarchal system, and as parasitic consumers and men's slaves and dependents. This tends to divide the history of Chinese women into two parts — a pre-20th century history of women's plight and a modern history of women's liberation. According to this school of historians, the traditional Chinese society consisted of two camps with the oppressive males on the one side and the oppressed females on the other. This concept started in the declining years of the Ching Dynasty and gained popularity during the early Republican

era. It still has a strong hold among contemporary and foreign scholars. I myself used to be one of those upholding the view.

I have had some second thoughts in recent years. Is this concept about Chinese women in agreement with historical facts? Is it too abstract and too simplistic? If the objective of scholarly research is merely to find evidence to justify this concept, would the efforts be worthwhile?

Troubled by these questions, I started trying to explore the history of Chinese women from another angle. There is no question that life was hard for most women and for the people at large in old China. The improvement of living standard did not occur until recent decades. But hardship cannot be equated with oppression. Even the gentle sex couldn't have put up with oppression for so long if it did exist. It will not be difficult for the careful observer to find from historical records and literary works that there are no stereotypes among Chinese women. Their capabilities, activities, temperament and thoughts are as varied as those of men. Men and women of the past also held different views about the duties and accomplishments of Chinese women. Their sacrifices

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and contributions could be the same thing viewed from different angles. If we say that Chinese women of the traditional society were victims of a patriarchal system, we might as well describe them as builders of homes and the country.

There is no denying the fact that women of modern China have been subjected to very strong Western influence. However, the evolution of Chinese womanhood has internal as well as external factors lying behind. There is immutability in changeability. While tradition is linked to immutability, it is not entirely irrelevant in discussing changeability. As a matter of fact, tradition has contributed to the evolution of Chinese womanhood, and its impact is still being felt today. I would like to explain my point from the following aspects.

WOMEN'S TRADITION OF DILIGENCE

As I said before, there are people who regard women of old China as weaklings who lived on men's labor like parasites. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was most articulate in expounding this view. He said in 1897 that women "do not hold public posts or engage in academic pursuits, do not take up farming or work as craftsmen, do not take part in commerce or take up arms. Since ancient times 200,000,000 women (sic) have not received any education. . . . I think the illiteracy of women must be the root cause of our nation's weakness. . . . Two hundred million women are dependents, and none of them has engaged in any productive labor. Because they cannot support themselves and have to depend on others for a living, men support them as they do draft animals and slaves.

Therefore, women are in a pitiful position. However, men are also in an unenviable position because they have to work hard to support their women dependents."¹

Liang's argument gained instant popularity. Ever since then a great many people have either been influenced by it or subscribed to it in their evaluation of Chinese women.

I concede that Liang was a scholar of great erudition. I also acknowledge his sincerity in advocating a greater role for Chinese women and admire his patriotic fervor. However, a student of history cannot fail to discover that those who follow Liang's argument are too simplistic in their evaluation of history. It is common knowledge that the factors contributing to the decline of China during the late Ch'ing dynasty are very complicated. The debate can go on forever as to how the decline started. So it is rather arbitrary to say that lack of education for women started it all. According to those who shared Liang's view, education of women declined after the Spring and Autumn era. The absurdity of this allegation is obvious. Isn't it true that China witnessed its finest days during the Han and Tang dynasties? Without intending to criticize those before us, I must say I am really surprised that no one in the 20th century has challenged the fallacy. Historians of the olden days tend to liken women to "fountain of evil" and have them pilloried on the stage of history by blaming them for the decline and fall of mighty dynasties. Even such an enlightened scholar as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao failed to give the women of ancient China a fair judgment and instead pointed an accusing finger at them.

If all the women in a country depend

on men for support, that country would be half paralyzed. Is there any country in the world that has lasted three thousand years with half of its population living like parasites? The answer is no. No country is wealthy enough to let half of its population remain idle. Those who believe in Liang's assertion that Chinese women of old did nothing to support themselves have not paused long enough to think about the implications.

It is true that Chinese women of the past did not hold public posts because they were barred from the imperial service examination, the main avenue to public offices. But some of them became rulers whose words were law to those who served under them. Wu Tse-t'ien is a case in point. As empress of China, she did such a good job in governing the empire that few monarchs could match her in performance. She can compare favorably with Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Victoria of Great Britain.

The old saying that "a woman without talent is a paragon of virtue" is often used to justify opposition to education for women. If we make a closer examination of the proverb, we would find that those who are against education for women have overlooked something. It is obvious that not everybody is virtuous. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that some women are virtuous and some are not. That means some women can be intellectually superior. History shows that a great number of Chinese women did distinguish themselves in the literary world. Works by women authors in ancient China were too numerous to be counted. The *Works by Women in Dynastic China* by contemporary scholar Hu Wen-k'ai lists more than four thousand writers of the fair sex.² The number of women writers who fail to make the list

could be larger. No other country in the world has produced so many women writers as China did. Li Ch'ing-chao, the Sung poetess, can compare with any great poet in the world. She is certainly as good a muse as America's Emily Dickinson.

So there is no arguing the fact that there was no lack of women in ancient China who liked to read and distinguished themselves in the literary world. If the word "scholars" refers to intellectuals in general, it would be wrong to say that there were no scholars among women of old China. If it refers particularly to those who excelled in competitive examinations with their "eight-legged essays," it would be equally wrong to exclude women, as girls in our own time have proved that they are generally better performers than boys in competitive examinations. If women had been allowed to take part in the imperial examinations, they would have certainly proved themselves to be strong competitors to the male candidates.

It is also grossly unfair to say that women of old China did not take part in farming and other productive labor. For thousands of years the Chinese economy has been agriculture-oriented, with 85 to 90 percent of the population living in rural villages. It means as many as 45 percent of the Chinese population were women in rural communities. Any book dealing with rural life in China will refute the allegation that rural women are idlers. They not only engage in such work as picking mulberry and tea leaves, gathering firewood, herding cow and sheep, tending domestic fowl and raising hogs but also get up earlier than their menfolks in order to cook breakfast for the whole family. After the men leave for the fields, women would do

other farm chores and cook lunch and bring the food to feed their husbands or brothers working in the fields. In the busy farming season, they often have to make another trip to the fields to bring the menfolks the afternoon snack. While the men smoke their pipes or simply relax after supper, the housewives have to do the dishes, weave, darn socks, make cloth shoes and many other chores until late in the night. In some Chinese provinces, notably Kwangtung and Fukien, women work in the fields alongside men. The late Mr. Tai Chi-t'ao once wrote: "Who work more for the goods produced in China, men or women? It is wrong to make a sweeping statement that women are idlers without making a survey and doing some accurate statistical work. I believe that families with idle women also have idle men, and that women are seldom idle in families whose male members have to work."⁴

It is equally incorrect to say that Chinese women of the past had no place in commerce and the battlefield. Both official and unofficial historical records show that some of them were shrewd operators in the business world. Even the First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty had to court the favor of two women millionaires.

Women in old China also figured prominently in the military field. Fu Hao and Fu Pin, consorts of King Wu-ting of the Ying period, served as commanders of his armed forces. The *Book of Lord Shang* contains this passage: "Strong young men form one army, strong young women another army, and the old and weak men and women still another army. These are the so-called 'three armies.'"⁵ The First Emperor mobilized a large number of women in his wars against the neighboring states

before he unified China, using them particularly in logistics operations. Princess P'ing-yang contributed greatly to the founding of the Tang dynasty. Other famous women warriors include Liang Hung-yü, Shen Yun-ying, Ch'in Liang-yü, and Lin Pu-ching. In Chinese fiction and drama women are also depicted as good fighters. Such names as Hua Mu-lan and Mu Kuei-ying are household words. This phenomenon finds no parallel in foreign literature, at least not in English literature. When I told my American students of the legends of Mu Kuei-ying and Hua Mu-lan, they thought I was talking nonsense.

Why do we Chinese admire and respect women warriors? I have turned this question over and over in my mind and have come to a conclusion. A literary product or stage play, if it is to last long, must be able to express certain thought or feeling besides its artistry so that it can arouse the empathy of its readers or spectators. This can happen only when the story told is more or less related to real life. In other words, the Chinese people find it acceptable that women could be men's equals even in war in which both physical and intellectual prowess count. Even the unschooled cannot believe that Lin Tai-yü, the sickly and sentimental heroine of *Dream in the Red Chamber* is a typical Chinese woman.

The overwhelming majority of Chinese women of the past were housewives. They worked as farmers, craftsmen and doubled as cook, wet nurse, servants and housekeepers without assuming any titles or getting paid. They worked diligently and quietly, not for fame or for profit. Working without pay does not mean unemployment. That's why advocates of women's lib in the 1970's

demanding that housekeeping be regarded as an occupation. As a matter of fact, a housewife is a jack of all trades. In every walk of life, the role of women is an important one. The importance of mothers and wives is universally recognized. Men can pursue their careers successfully only when they don't have to worry about home. Happy families are the basic units of a healthy society and country. The survival of the Chinese nation and its culture for thousands of years is no accident. It is the result of the joint efforts of China's sons and daughters. This is true in China as it is elsewhere. History is not just the story of men. It is the story of women as well.

REFORM — COMMON ASPIRATION OF MEN AND WOMEN

"Sad is the position of women. How they will fare is decided by men," so wrote the famous Tang poet Pai Chu-yi. It is true that women's lot in old China was hardly enviable. But men had to share whatever misfortune women might have because of the indivisibility of men and women.

Lack of freedom to choose one's own mate was a common curse to Chinese men and women alike before the advent of the 20th century. Chinese literature abounds with poems by men and women complaining of the absence of marital freedom. The narrative poem *The Peacock Flying Southeast* has been popular reading since long ago. Everybody is sympathetic with poet Lu Yu for his unhappy marriage. Oceans of tears have been shed for the tragic love of Chia Pao-yü and Lin Tai-yü. The story of Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-t'ai has been told and retold for over a thousand years because it reveals women's longing

for equality in education and young people's craving for the right to pick one's own mate.

China once had its Romeo and Juliet in real life, although few people are aware of it. The story runs like this. A girl in Fukien during the Ching period was secretly in love with a young man but was engaged to another under her parents' arrangement. On the eve of her wedding, the lovers heard that a potion made with the poisonous root of jasmín and wine if drunk in moderate amount, could make one lose consciousness for one or two days with all the appearances of death. Despite the risks involved, the girl drank the potion and, as expected, she was mistaken as dead. After her family buried her, her lover dug her out from the grave and eloped with her. About one year later, a relative came across the unfortunate young woman and forced her to return home. After learning what had happened, the family of her former fiancé sued the couple. They were arrested and taken to court for a severe lashing.⁶ The couple thus became victims of free love.

We can find many similar tragedies in both historical and literary works. These incidences show that men in old China shared the sufferings of women. The desire for a spouse of similar temperament and cultural attainment is part of human nature. Marriages arranged by parents have as much chance of failure as that of success. The abandoned woman has always been a major theme in Chinese literature. It shows that men are sympathetic with women, and that the pursuit of a happy marriage is the common aspiration of both sexes. Chinese women writers of times long past have left us voluminous literary products full of pathos. The passion, daring, and sadness

conveyed by these works are stronger even than those expressed by the works of men. "It's easy to get a priceless gem, but it's difficult to find a lover after one's own heart," so wrote the Tang poetess Yü Hsuan-chi. She was speaking for millions of other women.

For men in old China frustration in love or failure in marriage may be forgotten by diverting their attention to scholarly pursuit and professional achievements or indulging in carnal pleasure. But there was no such diversion for women. Didn't they aspire to become somebody? Yes, they did. Many women lamented that they were barred from the imperial examinations because of their sex. Poetess Yu Hsuan-chi had this to say: "I hate to see my verses hidden in my silken dress. I can only admire the successful candidates (of the imperial examinations)."

Nowhere is women's longing for equality with men expressed more strongly than in *t'an-tz'u*. The authors and readers were mostly women. The favorite theme of these literary products is a girl in man's guise who takes part in the imperial examination, emerges at the top and eventually becomes prime minister. A typical example is *Born Again* co-authored by Ch'en Tuan-sheng and Liang Teh-shen. Meng Li-chun, the heroine, masquerading herself as a young man under a new name, not only wins the top honor in the imperial examination but also is appointed prime minister. *The Flowering Brush* by Chiu Hsin-ju also tells the story of a woman by the name of Chiang Teh-hua who wins the highest degree and becomes an official. After her real sex is discovered, she says in bitterness: "Father gave me the talent; why didn't he give me the right sex? Now a promising career has

been completely dashed after all the painstaking efforts I've gone through. What a waste of talent!"

In his *Comments on Born Again*, historian Ch'en Yin-k'o said: "In those times the position of prime minister was the highest goal one could attain politically, and to become a *chuang yuan* (i.e. the top candidate of the imperial examination) was the highest social honor one could get. The road to both honors usually lay in the imperial examination, which was open only to men. No matter how learned or talented they might be, women just did not have the chance to compete with men for honors and riches accompanying the successful candidates of the imperial examination. It is only natural that women who could have competed successfully with men felt very bitter about the discrimination against them. Tuan-sheng in particular had reason to be angry." Tuan-sheng's grandfather, Ch'ü-shan, earned the highest degree in the 18th year of the K'ang Hsi reign. "Among Ch'ü-shan's descendants the women all stood their ground compared with his male offspring. Living in such an environment, Tuan-sheng had a feeling of frustration few others could have felt."⁷

I agree with Professor Ch'en, but feel that we may go even further. The sense of fair play and aspiration for renown do not belong to talented women alone. They happen to be the ones who spoke for many others. No literary product or theme could last long if it fails to strike the mental chord of its readers. Women who distinguish themselves in men's guise is the favorite theme of not only *t'an tz'u* but also other literary works in China. Why? I can find only one answer: Given a chance to develop their abilities, women can be men's equals. Women in men's

clothing can play men's role. The clothing is symbolic of social convention. It is social convention and surroundings that separate women from men.

The awareness that the real difference between men and women lies only in their clothing is clearly shown in the short play "Reading *Li-sao* while Drinking Wine" or "In Disguise" by the famed woman writer Wu Tsao in the 18th century. The plot is simple. Lamenting that she is a woman, Hsieh Hsü-ts'ai, the heroine, puts on man's wear, paints a portrait of herself and hangs it in her study. One day, she changes back into woman's dress, paints another portrait of herself, drinks, reads *Li-sao* and weeps. The play ends with the heroine folding up the portrait. The importance of the play lies not in its structure but in the heroine's indignant statement. When she is wearing man's clothing, she says to herself that she is as talented and ambitious as any man but unfortunately she has to live like a caged bird because of her sex.⁸ The play was an instantaneous success not just because of its literary excellence but also because of its strong appeal for freedom and equality for the fair sex.

How did men evaluate the intellect of women in old China? It is well known that the rise of neo-Confucianism during the Sung dynasty was a blow to Chinese women. The famed philosopher Lu Hsiang-shan had a student by the name of Hsieh Hsi-meng. When Lu learned that Hsieh was frequenting brothels in Hangchow, he scolded the young man: "You are spending your time living with cheap whores day and night. Being a Confucian scholar, aren't you ashamed of yourself?" Hsieh replied that he would mend his ways. But he soon forgot his promise. He even built a house for a courtesan. Lu was furious after learning

what Hsieh had done and gave him a severe tongue-lashing. This time Hsieh fought back. Said he, "The spiritual essence of the nature can be found only in women, not in men." His words made Lu speechless.⁹

Hsieh is by no means alone in giving the fair sex a high rating. Ko Chen-ch'i of the Ming dynasty had this to say: "The spiritual essence of the world dwells not in men. The field of literature in the universe should belong to women."¹⁰ Chao Shih-chieh, Ko's contemporary, said, "The essence of the universe probably cannot be found in men but in women. What is the essence? It refers to the beauty of literary products and personal charm."¹¹ Tsou Ch'i, an early Ch'ing writer, wrote: "It is strange indeed that the sublime spirit of the universe resides in women rather than in men."¹² In Chapter 42 of the novel *Flowers in the Mirror*, the author said, "Men do not possess the sublime. Virtue has long belonged to the gentle sex." Speaking through Chia Pao-yü, the hero of *Dream in the Red Chamber*, the author of the famous fiction said, "Only women are endowed with the sublime qualities of the universe. Men are only dregs and flotsam." In the late Ch'ing dynasty, there was also a popular saying that women are more talented and virtuous than men.¹³

There are many others who have made similar comments about women. These compliments are more or less exaggerated. Personally I would like to suggest that the statement be revised to read something like this: "The spiritual essence in the universe can be found in women as well as men."

Speaking of evaluation of women in old China, one must not forget Li Chih of the Ming dynasty. He said: "One may

say that human beings consist of the male and female sexes. But it would be absurd to classify points of view into men's and women's. One may say that some opinions are good and others are not. But it would be wrong to say that men's opinions are all good and those of women are all bad."¹⁴ He advocated equality of the sexes and the right to select one's own mate. He is truly a trail-blazer in modern thinking.

Other men of letters in old China who contributed to the emancipation of women include Yuan Mei, who opposed the practice of foot-binding for women and called for education of women, Yu Cheng-hsi, who refuted the social prejudice against remarriage of widows, Li Ju-chen, who was against using double-standard to judge the chastity of men and women, and Kung Tzu-chen, who also opposed the practice of foot-binding among women.

From what has been discussed above one can see that, long before the advent of Western thought in China, there was no lack of men who were sympathetic with women for their suffering, admired women's talent and criticized the evils of discrimination against women. These people include men in the streets, the articulate and the farsighted. In other words, the seed for upgrading women's social position was already sown in the traditional society of old China. It took the right climate for the seed to germinate. In the next section we shall discuss how the seed absorbed the nutrients in the native soil and sallied forth from the earth under the impact of Western thought.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF TRADITION AND CONFUCIANISM

A favorite theme among Chinese

reformers, revolutionaries and countless Chinese and foreign scholars is that Confucianism and the traditional society of China have been invisible shackles for women. The argument is only partly true. I have pointed out in the preceding section that evaluation of women in the traditional society was not necessarily prejudicial.

As to Confucianism, one can say that it has exerted a positive influence on the elevation of women's position in modern China. Confucian scholars do not attach importance to one's pedigree or social background. Their motto is: "Great generals and statesmen are not born," or "Every body could be a sage." Being optimists, they believe that education and self-cultivation can improve a person. They also hold the view that social order and morality are the outcome of every man and woman discharging the duties assigned him or her under the Confucian ethics and playing well the role expected of him or her. That is what they call "abiding by *Li*" or "living up to *Li*." *Li* is more than etiquette or courtesy. It is the rule of society and human behavior. *Li* was laid down by ancient sages. In other words, it is the artificial product of a certain period in history, not the creation of a divine being. There are no strict rules for the enforcement of *Li*. Expediency and adaptability are followed when conditions change. Therefore, the respective roles of men and women are subject to change in accordance with the change of time and social structure.

New requirements of the country and society in modern times have necessitated renovations, which in turn call for a role adjustment of men and women. The country commands the ultimate loyalty of the people; and the ultimate purpose

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of human activities is service for the country and society. This being the case, it is in conformity with the principle of *Li* and expediency for women to take part in national development while performing their traditional duties as housewives.

The Confucian philosophy is a multifaceted one. It has its favorable as well as unfavorable views with regard to women's position. There is no need to dwell on the unfavorable aspects, which have been expounded by contemporary and ancient scholars on numerous occasions. It is necessary to point out at this juncture that the *ying yang* theory has its positive influence on the position of women.

It is well known that the cosmic view and world view of Confucianism are derived from the *ch'ien* (heaven) *k'un* (earth) theory in the *Hsiang-hsiang* chapter of the *Book of Changes*. It is a kind of dualism. *Ch'ien* and *k'un* face each other but do not contradict each other. The interaction between the two gives rise to all the things and all the phenomena in the universe. *Ch'ien* stands for men, and *k'un* for women. Heaven represents men, and earth women. In *Hsi-tz'u* it is written: "In a family, the proper role for women is in the home and that of men is outside home. When men and women are playing their respective roles properly, the great ways of the heaven and the earth shall prevail. The family has its strict monarch in the person of the parents. The father behave like a father, son as a son, elder brother as an elder brother, younger brother as a younger brother, husband as a husband, and wife as a wife. Then the family shall function properly. When all the families function properly, the country shall have peace and stability." *Hsi-tz'u* is an outgrowth of the philosophy expounded

in the *Hsiang-hsiang* chapter. The *ying yang* theory is treated in *Hsiang-hsiang* but not as the main theme. In *Hsi-tz'u* it replaces *ch'ien k'un* from which is evolved the theory of men and women representing the *ying* and *yang* in nature.

The dualism of *ch'ien* and *k'un*, *ying* and *yang*, and men and women is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it proposes "men are in charge of outside affairs while women are in charge of inner affairs." According to this line of thinking, men dictate while women obey. For thousands of years this argument has been used to justify the allegation that men are by nature superior to women and to restrict the activities of women. Since the Revolution of 1911 those who advocate equal rights for women have been refuting the fallacy without denying that women should be in charge of domestic affairs. In other words, they are in favor of women playing a dual role both inside and outside the home. On the other hand, this dualism acknowledges the approximate equality for women. Even more important is that it believes that men and women are complementary, and that neither can do without the other. Since the late Ch'ing dynasty, many advocates of a greater social role for women have elaborated on the theory that men and women are interdependent, and that women are mothers of a nation. A couple of examples suffice to illustrate this.

In 1898, K'ang Tung-wei, daughter of K'ang Yu-wei, published an article entitled "On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Education for Women." The article was written on the basis of dualism to appeal for the establishment of a new educational system for women. Said she: "Everything belongs either to *ying* or *yang* Animals consist of the male

and female sexes. Mankind is composed of men and women. There is no superiority or inferiority of the sexes. Regardless of sexual difference, the code of conduct for all people remains the same."

In another passage she wrote: "Men and women are equal, according to the doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism. When Confucius compiled the *Book of Odes*, he began with the chapter on courtship. He dwelled on 內側 in his biographies." Again she said: "There is no happiness that does not have its origin in the family. The decline of virtue invariably starts from home." The final objective of education for women, she said, "is to glorify the ways of the sages and revive the ideal of world community."¹⁵ In other words, K'ang Tung-wei was promoting sex equality by quoting Confucian theories. It is a typical case of "seeking renovation by invoking the past." Other reformists argued along similar lines in calling for abolition of the foot-binding practice and establishment of schools for girls. The New Woman envisioned by Liang Chi-chao is capable of "assisting her husband, educating her children, making a family happy in the short term and improving the race in the long run."¹⁶

Yen Pin, an early member of the *Tung Meng Hui* and editor of the *New Women of China* magazine, also stressed the importance of mutual help of men and women for the sake of the family and the country. The publication reflected the main stream of thinking among patriotic women at the turn of the century. Its primary objective was to promote the idea of "Women citizens." To be a "woman citizen," she "must be full of patriotic fervor. She regards the interests of the country as more important than her own life. She won't

forget for a moment her own obligations in assisting her husband and raising her children She also strives to support manfolks when the country is in crisis."¹⁷

The concept of "a good wife and a good mother" remained strong during the early Republican era. The late Mr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, an advocate of liberalism, said: "The biological functions of a woman dictate that she must fill the mother role. Under the social structure of our time, a woman must become a wife before she is a mother. Therefore, the principal responsibility of a modern woman is to play the dual role of wife and mother. She is duty-bound to be a good wife and a good mother. Therefore, the major requirement of a modern woman is that she must play both roles well. If a man devoted to academic pursuits or social reform is lucky to have a good wife, he would be able to make greater contribution to scholarship or society, and his wife naturally could take partial credit for his achievements. If a woman gives birth to superior children and provides them with good family upbringing, they would naturally distinguish themselves in their future careers. Then her contributions to society would even be greater. Therefore, a woman must consider the value of being a good wife and a good mother as equal to that of engaging in academic pursuits or social reform by herself."¹⁸

We can still hear and read statements in the same vein even today. They are so common that no quotations are necessary. These statements originate from the same thinking: The ultimate purpose of an individual's activities is for the good of the family, the country and human society. Isn't that Confucian philosophy? The highest goal of the major women's movements in modern

China is national rejuvenation and increase of social well-being instead of the interests of women themselves. Precisely because of this, men gladly helped them spread their message and lent them assistance. Men's contributions to the elevation of women's position in modern China cannot be ignored. This is a singular characteristic of the history of modern China.

CONCLUSION

The imprint of tradition has given women in modern China three distinct characteristics. One of them is diligence, which is the biggest asset of the Chinese nation in assuring its continuous existence and the basic requirement for Chinese women to keep abreast of the times. Only by diligence can one meet the challenges of changing environments and adapt to new roles in keeping with the needs of the day. The second characteristic is a balanced frame of mind. Despite the prevailing preference of males to females, it is generally recognized either consciously or subconsciously that the ability of women, if given the chance to develop, can match that of men. This awareness is the fountainhead of the drive for sex equality. The third characteristic is duty to the family and

the country. This is the driving force of the Chinese race and the cohesive element in the mutual help and coordination between men and women. The improvement of women's position in modern China is the fruit of the joint efforts of men and women made for the sake of national salvation and in keeping with the trend of modern times.

China has been buffeted by adversities one after another for over a century. This has led to the loss of national confidence and the decline of traditional values. The tendency to hail anything that is new and depreciate whatever is old has revealed itself even in the study of history. Attempts at reform are played up and publicly acclaimed, while the contribution of tradition to modernization is often ignored. The same tendency has also affected the study of the history of Chinese women, although it is at variance with the principle of academic pursuits. I personally believe that those devoted to the study of the history of modern Chinese women should follow the principle of discussing the present without forgetting the past and championing the cause of women without downplaying the contribution of men. This article was written as an initial trial in accordance with this principle.

NOTES

1. Liang's article "Lun nū hseh" (On Women's Education), included in *Chin-tai Chung-kuo nū-ch'uan yun-tung shih-liao* (Documents on Women's Movements in Modern China), compiled and edited by Li Yu-ning and Chang Yü-fa, 2 vols., Taipei: Biographical Literature Publishing Company, 1975, Vol. 1, pp. 549-550.
2. See preface by Chiang Yü-ching. This book was first published by the Commerical Press in 1944, and reprinted by Ting-wen Book Company in Taipei in 1973.
3. See Ch'en Chung-yi, "Professor Ts'ai Sung-lin: From Age of Marriage to Protection of Consumers," *Shih-pao chou-k'an* (China Times Weekly), No. 183 (May 31, 1981). According to this article, "In 1975 a number of college and university presidents made proposals regarding restrictions on

women's education and employment, and there were also suggestions from banking circles to limit female employees. On November 12 of the same year the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang convened a meeting to discuss 'the question of young women's school examinations and employment.'” As is well known, at various levels of schools in Taiwan, entrance examinations are required. Generally, female students' percentage of being admitted is higher than that of male students because of their higher examination scores. Hence, this fact has affected male students' opportunities to enter schools and find employment, and thereby led to restrictions.

4. *Fu-nü wen-t'i chung-yao yen-lun chi* (Important Essays on the Question of Women), compiled by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, 1929, pp. 33-34.
5. Chapter 12 "Ping shou" (Military Defence).
6. Chi Hsiao-lan, *Yueh-wei ts'ao-t'ang pi-chi*, chapter 17. Chi's story stops at the couple's being sentenced to being beaten 100 strokes, without telling whether they died as a result. In many cases, people died after several dozen strokes.
7. *Lun tsai-sheng yuan*, Hong Kong: Union Press, 1959, pp. 75-76.
8. Cheng Chen-to compiled, *Ch'ing-jen tsa-chü erh-chi*, 1934.
9. P'ang Yuan-ying, *T'an shu*, included in *Hsueh-hai lei-pien*, reprinted by T'ai-lieu Kuo-feng Company, 1977, Vol. 6, p. 3.
10. See Ko's preface to *Hsu Yü-t'ai wen-wan*, published in 1632. Quoted from *Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k'ao*, appendix p. 44.
11. See Chao Shih-chien's preface to *Ku-chin nü-shin*, compiled by Chao himself, published in 1628. Quoted from *Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k'ao*, appendix p. 45.
12. See Tsou Ch'i's preface to *Hung-chiao chi*, compiled by Tsou himself, published in the early Ch'ing. Quoted from *Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k'ao*, appendix p. 52.
13. "Hsing nü-hsueh i", first published in *Shang-hai nü-pao*, quoted from *Chin-tai Chung-kuo nü-ch'uan yun-tung shih-liao*, Vol. 1, p. 569.
14. "Feng-shu," Chapter 2.
15. Originally published in *Chih-hsin pao*, No. 52, 1898, included in *Chin-tai Chung-kuo nü-ch'uan yun-tung shih-liao*, Vol. 1, pp. 562-566.
16. See *Chin-tai Chung-kuo nü-ch'uan yun-tung shih-liao*, Vol. 1, pp. 561.
17. "Pen-pao wu-ta chu-i yen-shuo" (On the Five Principles of this Journal), serialized in *Chung-kuo hsin nü-chieh tsa-chih*, No. 2-4, 1907. This journal, consisting of five issues, was reprinted by Youth Cultural Service of Taipei in 1977, with a preface by Li Yu-ning.
18. *Fu-nü wen-t'i chung-yao yen-lun chi*, pp. 62-63.

Personality, Transpersonality and Impersonality

— Some Reflections on the Relationship of Man to Nature —
in Three Different Cultures and Its Implications for
Communication Theory

Wimal Dissanayake

The way in which different cultures have conceptualized human communication can prove to be an extremely fascinating topic for those interested in the theory of communication. However, it needs to be emphasized that this topic can be as complex as it is fascinating. It is complex for the reason that it is difficult to construct a framework of analysis with such scanty evidence as we have, at present, in our possession.

Communication, basically, deals with the relationship of man to his surroundings. Therefore, a point from which we could productively begin our enquiry would be to seek answers to such fundamental questions as, "What is the nature of individuality reflected in different cultures? What is the relationship between the individual and his surroundings posited by these cultures?" These, to my mind, are two basic questions that need to be answered, if we are to

arrive at a just estimate of the communication presuppositions held by different cultures. We cannot possibly comprehend the communication postulates without finding out how various cultures have looked at the individual and his relationship to his surroundings.

How can one set about finding answers to these questions? It seems to me that there are two ways to proceed. Firstly, one can study such classical treatises as we have on philosophy, linguistics, aesthetics, rhetoric, etc. and seek to extract answers to these questions. For example, one can obtain a relatively clear picture of the concept of persuasive communication that dominated Western cultures by analyzing Aristotle's "Rhetoric." Similarly, one can glean a substantial body of information regarding the nature of aesthetic communication endorsed by classical Indian culture by examining the *Natya-Sastra* of Bharata.

An analysis of the classical treatises, then, is one method by which we can find answers to the kind of questions stated above.

Another way would be to analyze the actual works of art produced in different cultures. A most fruitful area of enquiry would be creative literature. By examining the masterpieces of creative literature, we can hope to uncover the postulates that guided and activated literary communication as well as human interaction in general. In this regard, poetry can prove to be inordinately helpful. Poetry represents the most sophisticated form of verbal communication, and the poet is the verbal communicator *par excellence*.

In this paper, I wish to examine the poetry of three of the most outstanding nature poets representing the quintessence of the Western (European), Indian and Japanese traditions, so as to draw out the implications for communication theory. The three poets I have selected for examination are Wordsworth, Kalidasa and Basho. Wordsworth lived in England in the 18th century; Kalidasa in India in the 6th century; and Basho in Japan in the 17th century. Each of them represents the quintessence of the tradition on which they drew for poetic inspiration and guidance. They, in point of fact, represent the ripeness of their respective traditions and, hence, offer a wonderful opportunity for meaningful comparative study. It may appear as though the choice of Kalidasa is an inappropriate one in view of the fact that he lived in the 6th century. Therefore, I have decided to include the most well-known nature poet of Sri Lanka, Sri Rahula, who in many ways represents the essence of the poetic tradition and sensibility mirrored in

Kalidasa's work. Sri Rahula lived in the 15th century. Hence, I shall be dealing with four poets who wrote in English, Sanskrit, Japanese, and Sinhalese, respectively, and who represent the Western, greater Indian and Japanese traditions.

Let us start with Wordsworth. He is, by common consent, the first English nature poet. Indeed, when we discuss nature poetry in English, the first name that springs to mind is that of William Wordsworth. This is one of his most popular poems.

The Daffodils

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of golden daffodils,
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the milky way,
They stretched in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.

The waves beside them danced, but they
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:
A poet could not but be gay
In such a jocund company!
I gazed — and gazed — but little thought
What wealth the show to me had
brought.

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils.¹

For our present concern, there are a number of interesting observations we can make about this poem. Firstly, the poem

mirrors an objective world of nature and an enquiring and meditative mind. In other words, it presupposes a duality between Man and Nature. Secondly, it is the sensibility and the individuality of the experiencing poet that emerges more strikingly than the visible world of nature. Thirdly, one observes a propensity to intellectualize the experience and draw out morals applicable to the world of human beings, as is evidenced by the following lines:

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude . . .

Fourthly, the language employed by the poet is simple and clear with occasional metaphorical turns of phrase.

Let us consider another widely anthologized poem of Wordsworth.

My Heart Leaps Up

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The Child is father of the Man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.²

This poem, too, substantiates the four points we made in relation to "The Daffodils."

For Wordsworth, Man and Nature were two distinct entities, and Nature was a means of stimulating deep thought relevant to Man.

'Thanks to the human heart by which

we live,
Thanks to the tenderness, its joys and
fears,
To me the meanest flower that blows
can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for
tears.'³

It is indeed interesting to observe that the title of Book VIII of his major poetical work, *The Prelude*, is "Retrospect — Love of Nature Leading to Love of Man."

As was pointed out earlier, Wordsworth's imagination was inextricably linked with a predilection for intellectualizing and moralizing. He once observed that, "imagination is the intellectual lense through the medium of which the poetical observer sees the objects of his observation."⁴ He often referred to imagination as "the feeling intellect" and "reason in her most exalted mood." On another occasion he remarked that, "There is scarcely one of my poems which does not aim to direct the attention to some moral sentiment, or to some general principle, or law of thought, or of our intellectual constitution."⁵ Equally, he was deeply aware of his self-consciousness and autobiographical urge in composing poetry. Wordsworth himself remarked that it was "a thing unprecedented in literary history that a man should talk so much about himself."⁶

Let us now switch our attention to the great Indian poet Kalidasa. He lived in the 6th century, and is generally regarded as the finest Sanskrit poet. All his poetical works bear testimony to his unparalleled gifts as a nature poet. One of his longer poems, "The Ritusamhara," which consists of six cantos, has for its theme the change of the seasons and its impact on human lives. To Kalidasa, Man and Nature are actively involved in

the great drama of existence, which, in point of fact, is a reflection of the all pervasive Divine. This is the essential message of Kalidasa, and he stands in cutting contrast to Wordsworth. In the case of Wordsworth, Man and Nature are two distinctly different entities. Nature only facilitates the process of introspection and self-analysis.

Let us now examine some of Kalidasa's poetry. Following are some stanzas from his description of the rainy season.

With rain clouds for musk elephants,
with lightning for pennant and thunder
for drumbeat
the rains come, my love
like a king, bright and beloved.

The entire sky is overcast with clouds:
they have the lustre of blue lotus petals,
the dark beauty of collyrium
and of breasts quick with child.

With thunders sounding the drums of
war,
clouds use the lightning as bowstring
to wound the hearts of travellers
with the keen arrows of their showers.

Covered with green grass shining like
splintered gems,
with the sprouting leaves of tufted
plantains
and the red cochineal flies,
the earth is like a beautiful woman,
decked with coloured gems.

Like evil women flaunting their wiles,
the rivers run faster to the sea.
Foul currents fell everywhere
the trees on the shores.⁷

Let us now consider his description of Autumn.

Autumn has come like a radiant bride:
the grass flower is her robe, the
blooming lotus her lovely face.
The courting swans imitate the tinkling

of her anklets
the maturing corn-fields her lithe,
sinuous body.

Rivers move slowly now, like passionate
women:
the dancing sappari fish are their
colourful girdle,
the white birds on the banks their
necklace
and the broad, sandy banks their
comely hips.

Having shed their load of water,
the clouds are white like silver, conch or
lily;
the wind tears them and sends them
floating in hundreds.
The sky is like a king fanned by tail-fans.

The night grows daily like a young
girl:
the unclouded moon is her face,
the stars her special ornaments,
and the moonlight her shining robe.⁸

In these descriptions, it is interesting to observe that Kalidasa is seeking to portray the natural world in terms of the human world. His imagery reflects this desire. Kalidasa endeavored to anthropomorphize the world of nature in a way that Wordsworth did not. Kalidasa, in contradistinction to Wordsworth, envisions the human world encompassed by the world of nature. The only way in which we could come to terms with, and make sense of, the charm and the fury of nature is by imputing human qualities to it. In other words, Kalidasa is proceeding from the known to the unknown. Unlike in the case of Wordsworth, there is no personal emotion involved in the poetic experience of Kalidasa. The poet's identity is totally extraneous to the great drama of man and nature being played out before him. If the predominant element in Wordsworth's poetry is the unmistakable emergence of

the poet's personality, in the case of Kalidasa, it is transpersonality.

In Kalidasa's nature poetry, we see the attempt to interpret the natural world in terms of the human world and to dramatize vividly the influence of nature on human behavior. The important point to note is that Kalidasa, unlike Wordsworth, shows the impact of nature on human beings in general and not on the individual sensibility and moral consciousness of the poet. The following are some examples which illustrate this point.

My love, let me speak of winter:
I see the beautiful fields of golden rice
and hear the heron's mating shriek;
Women love this time because this is
the time for love.

Men prefer now to wear woolen dress,
to stay indoor by the fireside,
to bask in the sunshine
and to enjoy young women.⁹

That this is indeed the attitude to man and nature enshrined in the greater Indian poetic tradition is borne out by the fact that Sri Rahula, the great nature poet of Sri Lanka who lived in the 15th century, adopts the identical course. Following are some of his stanzas depicting the beauty of nature.

The stream called Diyavanna with its
ripples and wavelets
Seems a silk garment worn by the
woman-city;
Worked with rows of red lotus, and
figures of golden swans
Its spreading cascades the long rippling
waist fold.

And the stars in array seem like flowers
Strewn on the glorious couch of firmament,
lovely and pure.
By night, filled with desire because her

lord comes to her,
The moon that glistens with a soft
effulgence.¹⁰

Let us now examine the work of the great Japanese poet Matsuo Basho. He lived in the 17th century (1644-1694), and is rightly regarded as an outstanding exponent of the art of haiku. He, too, like Wordsworth and Kalidasa, wrote exquisite nature poetry. However, his work is radically different from the writings of the other two poets. In order to clarify this difference, I wish to present some of his nature poems.

Spring morning marvel
Lovely nameless little hut
On a sea of mist.

Under my tree-roof
Slanting lines of April rain
Separate to drops.

Low-tide morning
The willow's skirts are trailed
In striking mud.

Overhanging pine
Adding its mite of needles
To the waterfall.

In the endless rain
Is it turning sunward still
Trusting hollyhock?

Rain-obliterated
The river, some roofs
A bridge without a shore.

A windblown grass
Hovering mid-air in vain
An autumn dragonfly.¹¹

What is interesting to observe about these nature poems is the complete absence of the poet's personal emotion. This is unthinkable in the case of Wordsworth. Although in Kalidasa's

poetry, there is no personal emotion displayed as in the work of Wordsworth, yet we see that there is a transpersonal poet registering the interaction between man and nature. In Basho's poetry the poet is totally submerged in nature. If personality and transpersonality are the predominant elements in Wordsworth and Kalidasa respectively, in Basho it is the notion of impersonality that is pervasive. Makoto Ueda says that "a dissolution of personal emotion into an impersonal atmosphere constitutes the core of Basho's attitude toward life."

Even in poems which manifestly deal with deeply personal emotions, Basho always seeks to present his inner feelings in as objective and impersonal a manner as possible. For example, the following poem has as its theme the loneliness experienced by man. However, his presentment of it is characterized by an unmistakable sense of impersonality.

Under the blossoms
Two aged watchmen
With their white heads together.¹²

Commenting on this poem, Ueda makes the following illuminating observation. "This is not purely a nature poem; there are two men placed in the heart of a landscape. Yet the Haiku says nothing about the men's inner feelings. They are part of the natural scene. . . thereby creating an atmosphere of loneliness. Lovely as the blossoms are, they must eventually fall with the passing of time, as suggested by the white hair of the watchmen. Important is the fact that these old men are not grieving over the impending fall of the blossoms or over the anticipated end of their lives. They are there simply to fulfill their place in nature, together with the blossoms;

they are part of impersonal nature." This same point is marvelously enforced by the following poem of Basho which he wrote at the death of his beloved disciple.

In the autumn gust
It is sorrowfully broken,
A mulberry stick.¹³

We can profitably compare this poem of Basho with some stanzas from a poem of Wordsworth dealing with a kindred theme. We see how Wordsworth personalizes the sorrowful situation in a way that Basho does not.

Where art thou, my beloved Son,
Where art thou, worse to me than dead?
Oh find me, prosperous or undone!
Or, if the grave be now thy bed,
Why am I ignorant of the same
That I may rest; and neither blame
Nor sorrow may attend thy name?

Seven years, alas, to have received
No tidings of an only child;
To have despair'd, and have believ'd,
And be for evermore beguil'd!
Sometimes with thoughts of very bliss;
I catch at them, and then I miss;
Was ever darkness like this?¹⁴

Now what do these interesting points of dissimilarity in the works of William Wordsworth, Kalidasa and Matsuo Basho tell us about the communication presuppositions of the different cultures, of which they are outstanding representatives? Let us first consider Wordsworth. It seems to me that the most important points about his nature poems, from the point of view of communication, are as follows:

1. The personality of the poet is of supreme importance.
2. There is a clear dichotomy between man and nature.

3. The meditation on nature leads to introspection and self-analysis on the part of the poet.

4. The poet's imagination is closely linked to rationality and intellect.

5. There is an obvious moral consciousness and educative purpose running through the poetry.

6. The language is clear and lucid and is mildly metaphorical.

Let us now consider the main points of interest in Kalidasa's poetry.

1. The personality of the poet is of minimal significance. However, a sense of transpersonality floating above both man and nature emerges.

2. There is no dichotomy between man and nature. As a matter of fact, man is embedded in, or encompassed by, nature.

3. The meditation on nature does not lead to any introspection or self-analysis.

4. The poet's imagination is not linked to rationality and intellect. It is more intuitive.

5. There is no obvious moral consciousness and educative purpose

running through the poetry.

6. The language is highly figurative, laying great emphasis on simile.

It is quite obvious, then, that there is a vast difference between the poetry of Wordsworth and Kalidasa. The poetry of Basho shares some features with Kalidasa's writing, but there are differences as well. These are the main points of interest in Basho's poetry.

1. The personality of the poet is totally absent. What we see is an emergent impersonality.

2. There is no dichotomy between man and nature. Man is completely submerged in nature.

3. There is not even a meditation on nature — quite apart from a meditation on nature leading to self-analysis.

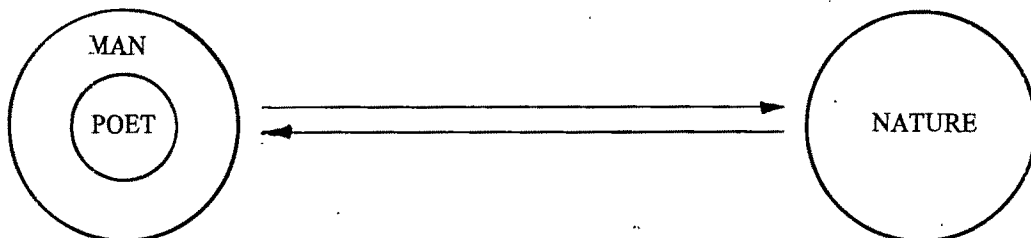
4. The poet's imagination is divorced from rationality and intellect.

5. There is no moral consciousness or an educative purpose activating the poetry.

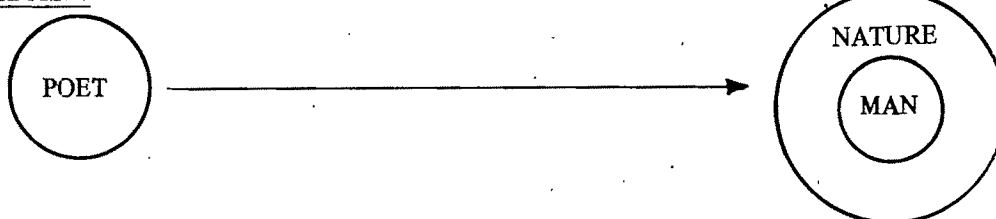
6. The language is devoid of imagery.

The relationship of the poet to man and nature in the poetry of Wordsworth, Kalidasa and Basho can be represented as follows:

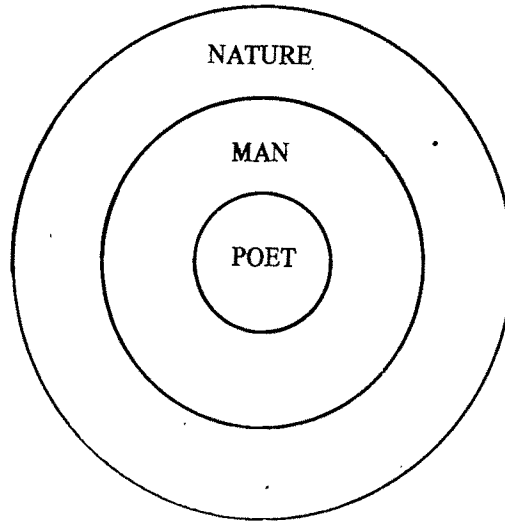
WORDSWORTH



KALIDASA



BASHO



This analysis of the relationship of man to nature as reflected in Western, Indian and Japanese cultures, it is hoped, will enable us to understand better some of the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of communication postulates associated with these three cultures.

Now what implications do these distinctions hold for communication theory? Communication is the most primary identifiable process in human society. Indeed, without the support of a communication system no society can function smoothly. In seeking to explore how various societies have conceptualized human communication we need to get to the basics. We need to address our mind to such questions as "What is the idea of self prevalent in a given society?" "What is the relationship of man to his surroundings?" "What are the presuppositions and postulates that activate this relationship?" The distinctions that I have sought to enforce in the body of the paper, I hope, will enable us to come to terms with these

fundamental problems more meaningfully.

In the Western world, as is clearly evidenced in Wordsworth's poetry, the division of man and nature into two readily identifiable and separate entities figures very prominently. Indeed the astounding scientific and technological advances made by the Western society can, in large measure, be attributed to this worldview. Science is the outcome of man's desire to conquer nature. The notion of manipulation is central to this enterprise, and constitutes a staple in the vocabulary of Western social thinking. For example, from the earliest times, the idea of manipulation played a crucial role in Western communication theory. Aristotle's "Rhetoric," which is the earliest extant work on communication theory, contains a model of communication which essentially places emphasis on the idea of manipulation. In the Aristotelean model there are four important elements:

1. Communicator
2. Message

3. Receiver
4. Objective

According to the Aristotelean model, the communicator is supreme. What he is seeking to accomplish is to persuade his potential receivers in a manner and toward a goal that he desires. In this process, he emphasizes the need to argue logically, to understand human character and the need to identify oneself with the changing emotional states of his audience. All these, we observe, are means of persuasion through manipulation. Indeed these notions of influence and manipulation which are so central to classical communication theory survive into modern times.

Two models of communication which have exercised a profound influence on the thought and imagination of communication scholars are Laswell's model and Shannon and Weaver's model. Both these models, which emphasize the role of the communicator and his capacity for influencing the receivers, operates basically within the Aristotelean framework. Therefore, it can justifiably be said that the notions of influence and manipulation are deeply engrained in Western thinking on human communication. This is a result of the clear division of man and nature into two separate entities.

The question of individualism is also interesting from this point of view. From Greek times the ideas of individualism and competitiveness figure very prominently in Western culture. This is indeed strikingly different from what obtains in Eastern cultures where the operative concepts are harmony and group solidarity. These differences, no doubt, have profound consequences for human communication. Once again the premium put on individualism can be

largely attributed to the separation of man and nature, and the celebration of personality which one observes in cultural manifestations of Western culture as, for example, in the nature poetry of Wordsworth.

While Western culture stresses the virtues of individualism, competitiveness and manipulation, Eastern cultures seem to set great store by group solidarity, harmony and reciprocity. Both Indian and Japanese cultures value these qualities, and the poetry of Kalidasa and Wordsworth bear eloquent testimony to this fact. However, there is an important distinction that one needs to bear in mind, which would illuminate these distinctions better. We noted that in the case of Kalidasa's poetry, the poet adopts a transpersonal posture. Indeed this is reflective of some of the deeper currents of Indian culture. The Indian propensity for hyperbole, universalization, and abstraction is an outcome of this cast of mind. On the other hand, in the case of Basho's poetry, we observed that the poet is totally submerged in the world of man which in turn is encased in the world of nature. This is in keeping with the proclivity of the Japanese mind to express itself in muted tones and particularistically. In other words, the analysis of the nature poetry of Wordsworth, Kalidasa and Basho confirms our suppositions of general contours of culture.

This paper, obviously, is only a first and tentative step. One needs to work in greater depth and detail in order to establish more cogently the points that I sought to make. However, the broad approach that I have adopted, in my opinion, is a potentially profitable one in comprehending the diverse postulates of communication that are characteristic of different cultures. The concepts of

personality, transpersonality, and impersonality that I have developed in this paper, I hope, will prove to be useful in arriving at a clearer understanding of the differences that separate communication endeavors in different cultures.

Notes

1. *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, edited by E. de Selincourt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944.
2. *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, edited by E. de Selincourt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.
3. *Wordsworth: Representative Poems*. A. Beatty. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1937.
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9. Sèlalihini Sandesaya. Translated by H. Jayasinghe and L. C. Van Geyzel in *An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature up to 1815*, edited by C. H. B. Reynolds. Allen and Unwin, London, 1970.
10. *The Four Seasons*. New York: The Peter Pauper Press, 1958.
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Women Against the Shadow of Tradition in East-West Fiction

Anacleto M. Encarnacion

Between ancient matriarchy and the modern feminist movement is a long stretch of feminine anonymity. Absence from the male scenario, non-intrusion in man's world is only one of the changing images of woman.

For centuries, woman has played variant roles — Mother Goddess, chattel, helpmate, nurturant. She has been predominantly edged away onto the background, ambling noiselessly, unquestioning and repressed, a stilled, muted non-entity. According to Simone de Beauvoir, she is "object," misunderstood as "other," and dealt with as "the second sex."

However, the upsurge of modern technology has jolted to a considerable extent this "otherness." And the emancipated woman, aside from being wife-mother, crawls out from her shell and realizes that "half the human race is female."

An integral part of the contemporary scene, this new status of women has struck the fancy of creative writers and thus woven into the fabric of many a fictive plot. At times boldly glaring. In other instances, dipped in a variety of shades and tones. Often subdued under the traditional hue of "woman-as-other."

While the new woman has made her appearance in almost all parts of the globe inspiring public undertakings, still a slight difference between the East and the West etches its mark into the male-female juxtaposition in modern society. Frankness and assertion characterize the Western woman libbers. The Easterner takes her stand in a gesture which makes the man feel that despite her changing identity as an answer to new demands, she is still the figure atop the pedestal — frail, cherished, protected.

Delineated in a triad of short stories from China, America and the Philippines is woman — slices of her life showing glimpses of her traditional mores patinated by modern experiences and norms.

Yu Li-hua's main character in "Glass Marbles Scattered All Over the Ground" (1975: 161-173) is a woman, an elder sister, who despite her seeming weakness exudes the dominant force of female otherness vis-à-vis her younger brother Chi-p'ing. From the opening lines to the end of the story, tension, nervousness, possessiveness, insecurity, egocentricity, in the guise of self-sacrifice are much in evidence in her. Even the waiter fails to

ask her his trade-question as she waits inside the Ching Hsin Lou Restaurant. For the matriarchal ghost of ancient China now bridled and crippled as the "perfumed lily" is impatiently up in arms against the new reality.

Her firm hold on Chi-p'ing is gradually loosening. And when he finally turns up to introduce his girl friend Pi-chueh during the luncheon meeting, her scrutiny escapes the beauty and the elan of youth but meticulously notes the traces of modern trendy carelessness: a missing button, dandruff in the hair, a sliver of cooked vegetable stuck in the crevice of her teeth, an ink-stained middle finger, assorted bracelets. This brings the older women relief.

Pi-chueh's first verbal attempt at amity on Chi-p'ing's information about her makes her recoil into the past, fearful that he might have divulged events in her life she has guarded and unaided. Chi-p'ing notices her absent-mindedness.

He orders his sister's favorite dishes and during the meal, familiarly fondles the girl's hand. When Pi-chueh requests for a pack of cigarettes, the two women are left alone to themselves.

They are protagonists vying for the affection of a man. One, menacingly using the old tactics of denial and withholding; the other, questioning the man's lack of communication about her. Both utilizing the dangerous, wordless womanly attack and maneuver.

The sister plays ignorant of the many things already told her several times by her brother about Pi-chueh — their almost two-year relationship, her well-off family, her sick mother, her education as a third-year student at the College of Fine Arts, her wish to marry Chi-p'ing after graduation, even her intention not to go abroad, unlike her brother. And

purposely splurges those irrelevant to their affair and of which Chi-p'ing is not supposed to divulge — her mother's rheumatism, her Swiss sister-in-law. Pi-chueh is a bit annoyed at the man for discussing with his sister those which are alien to their love affair.

While sparing for women, the conversation between the two are like darts released from both camps. To the sister's comments on Chi-p'ing's responsiveness to her guidance, Pi-chueh's ready affirmation becomes repulsive. Her knowledge about the sister's goodness to him hits the elder woman right on the mark. Her sisterly solicitude is a private matter reserved only for the two, and not for an outsider. It means stripping her before the eyes of a stranger. And she parries the blow with, "It's my duty to be good to him, and it's his duty to listen to me. There are only the two of us in the family, so we must depend very much on each other."

All the situations and events in the story, even flashbacks and flashforwards are hinged to this female dictum. After a hearty meal, as Pi-chueh goes to the ladies room, Chi-p'ing has the chance to ask for his sister's assessment of the girl. And this pronouncement comes to the fore.

Her reply is only a strange smile. It augurs ill and strikes more fatally than barbed words. This chilling, momentary twitching of the lip corners revealing the tips of two pointed canine teeth against an immobile face scares him. Each time she displays this smile, he feels like "standing on a pad of cotton that was sinking into a bottomless pit below." But he must not sink and allow Pi-chueh to fall down into that pit along with him. Hence, his insistence for her consent.

The sister is adamant and would give

the consent if she likes her. But there is nothing more she can require which Pi-chueh does not meet — good family, education, attractiveness, and a promise that the sister can live with the couple after their marriage.

Once again, the sister manages to get in her wily question: "Can't you see that I do everything for your own good?" As a dilatory measure, she suggests to talk it over at home. Here is her kingdom, as a woman, as a sister. But it is this home that Chi-p'ing dreads. And the sparkling glass marbles she fondles and plays with in times of stress and strain.

He is of age. Pi-chueh's folks await his definite answer. To his sister's lowered voice, reminiscent of the hissing of a tiger ready to bounce on his prey, the male superiority asserts. "I'm not pressing you, Sis. Over the years you never were satisfied with anyone I cared for, and I gave in every time. But things are different now. I love Pi-chueh. Whatever you may say, I will not give in this time. You'd better say yes to me so that we can live peacefully together in the future. Otherwise. . ."

The brother-sister argument about what love is reveals each individual's vested interest. To the man, love is giving. To the elder woman, love is giving him everything she has.

She is later thwarted by Chi-p'ing's touché which voices his eloquent protest. "That is only another form of a possessive passion, not a real passion to give. You gave me what others wouldn't take. You want to take possession of me, to bind me up — together with you — till death. Do you think I don't know that? I'm a man, a grown-up man; I want love, normal love, given me by a normal woman. I'm no longer your kid brother, no longer a shield to hide from you the things you don't

want to see. Now, I'm going to move myself — your shield — aside and you've got to see the world whether you like it or not." (172).

As he steps aside, there is a line behind him, Pi-chueh and the waiter. The sister rushes out to her home and her glass marbles scattered on the floor. She kisses them, weeps, laughs.

This separation of brother and sister after a crucial encounter paints dramatically in bas-relief a parting of male-female ways. Inroads to male authority figure fork away from the traditional mother-son close relations. As Julia Kristeva puts it in her volume *About Chinese Women* (1977: 145), she says that the mother is the voice of common sense, but of an emphatically social variety, because she is a productive member of society and places its interests above those of the family. This does not prevent her word from being law around the house: she has a say in the choice of a daughter-in-law and even protests when the son wants to leave the paternal (maternal?) home with his wife.

As surrogate mother of Chi-p'ing, the sister wields tremendous clout and imposes her will on the young man to the point of muzzling his individuality. It portrays vestiges of female dominance long silenced by patriarchy. Indeed, the depreciation of feminine power is markedly striking in Chinese history.

Strong familial ties, the age-old subservience to man and other suppressive and oppressive steps could possibly have endowed women from the world over with a certain gift for interaction or maturity or intelligence to enable them to lord it over men or to have their way with "the first sex" while seemingly borne down by the heavy orders of an androcentric society. They appear to be

ever-giving while actually hoarding. They allow men to be in the forefront of things, making their presence felt, while virtually calling the tune from the anonymity of a background.

Many times in the past, Chi-p'ing was used by her as an argument against her own marriage. There was the man who wanted her but this attachment to her brother made him marry someone else. And when she appeared so ridiculously drunk at the wedding party, Chi-p'ing was disgraced and voiced it to her. She pleaded not to be hated as he was now the only person in her life. He then unknowingly was frightened — *of* her or *for* her — and promised neither to leave her nor to hate her.

The subordinate position of the sister as woman makes her unconsciously weave schemes of disguising her personal obsession to tie her brother to her apron strings for life. So, in an effort at manipulations, she pleases him with food or a foot-warmer and he is grateful. But the superior male while apparently humoring the sister sees through her, suggests marriage so she would not torture herself for his sake and so he can extricate himself from her tentacles.

"For you, I can bear any sacrifice. I turned that man down, didn't I?" This expression of the elderly woman underlines her oddity, her irrationality as a woman. He fully knows, without articulating it, that "it was the man who had turned her down, yet she was bent on saying the contrary."

When one day the man came, for his wife died and their baby needed a mother's touch, Chi-p'ing was overjoyed and gave the two their privacy. He must not be used as "a screen to block out the world before her eyes." He needed his own freedom. He had to have his

emancipation from sisterly clutch. But the widower failed and left, swearing not to touch her even if bribed by silver. She censured him for not getting married because of her and she because of him, suggesting that he wanted to monopolize her all his life.

Such female irrationality is quoted from Ortega Y Gasset by Dr. Karl Stern in *Between Myth and Morning Women Awakening* (January, 1974: 222):

The more of a man one is, the more he is filled to the brim with rationality. Everything he does and achieves, he does and achieves for a reason, especially for a practical reason. A woman's love, that divine surrender for her ultra-inner being which the impassioned woman makes, is perhaps the only thing which is not achieved by reasoning. The core of the feminine mind, no matter how intelligent the woman may be, is occupied by an irrational power. If the male is the rational being, the female is the irrational being.

Writer Yu Li-hua has hewn Chi-p'ing's sister with a master's art amidst a backdrop of patriarchal prevalence. Pitted against Pi-chueh, she seems out of joints with the times. Her all-consuming self-love, her ambivalence towards her suitor, her negative attitude to any rival for Chi-p'ing's loving affections out-distance her ability to integrate with the life of the community, so she feels forlorn and unhappy.

Pi-chueh belongs to modern China, to the suffragettes, the feminists who work shoulder to shoulder with men. Unpretentious, she is straightforward in her communication. She seeks to be accepted for what she is, yet wary in front of a future in-law whose presence evokes in her a certain piercing coldness.

It is the elder woman nevertheless,

who so clumsily drops her handbag causing its feminine gewgaws to spill rolling to the floor and the younger one endowed with reason and is emotionally secure. Ordinarily, the observer rises over and above the observed, surer of his feelings and is on firmer ground. Not so with the sister. She it is who covers with powder the red scar on the tip of her nose; she it is who conveniently prevaricates; she it is who rushes first out of the restaurant fearing that her heart would break.

The polarity of the sexes is likewise given sweeping strokes by the author. Her picturesque verbiage allows the reader a peep at Chi-p'ing's inner self as he cringes awkwardly from a sisterly tenderness bordering disgustingly on something akin to a wife's attention. When she is crestfallen by a last marital chance and sobs away the night, he assuages her like a grown-up man. But that is past. Later in the story, he makes it clear that he has changed. That he hankers to live his own free life and craves to alter the domestic pattern which circumscribes them.

The patriarchal syndrome of male superiority and female inferiority takes the upper hand. This is the fall of woman — she can no longer hold her man.

However, the perspicacious narrator ends her opus with a couple of disarming clinching lines. "She knew that when she came to number 718, Chi-p'ing would be back. He would, as always." Transparent lines fraught with an elderly Chinese woman's experience. Yet Yu Li-hua leaves her readers to draw their own inferences.

Four sources have been cited in *Women in the World* to justify patriarchal rule (Iglitzin, 1976: 8-9): biological, in that it emphasizes the greater physical

strength of the male animal; cultural and anthropological grounds: primitive societies, in the process of evolving toward civilization, moved away from matriarchy and toward patriarchy, and anthropological evidence shows the universality of the patriarchal family; Western and non-Western religious authority is cited as incontrovertible proof of the rightness and the inevitability of male rule; and changes in the mode of production and distribution, particularly the shift from communal to private property.

The universality and pervasiveness of the patriarchal thinking moors on solid ground female weakness in contraposition to male primacy. Even in a Western country like the United States where women "continue to define themselves in relation to men," this femaleness is intensified and becomes more vivid when juxtaposed to another woman of another race, particularly so if it becomes a meeting of East and West. As in Anne Tyler's prose fiction entitled "Your Place is Empty" (1977: 317-337)

Like the human triptych of Yu Li-hua, where emotions and relations are truncated by woman's throttled dominance, three adult figures prominently people the American short story. This time, however, a married couple (Iranian husband and American wife) with their daughter and an Iranian mother-in-law are moving pawns in humankind's chessboard.

Written in the omniscient point of view, the narration takes the reader to the West, America, where Mrs. Ardavi goes visiting her physician-son Hassan and his family and encounters a culture shock that sends her scurrying back to her own land.

The private tussle in *Glass Marbles*

Scattered All Over the Ground between brother and sister caused by Pi-chueh's future entry into the closely knit duo reverberates with a louder resonance in Tyler's work. For while Yu Li-hua's personages are rooted in their own soil, savoring of the same culture with barely a ten-year age difference, Mrs. Ardavi casts her purdah aside and confronts an entirely new world, an entirely changed son, and a daughter-in-law whose culture runs counter to what she leaves behind.

The traditional status of women in the Muslim world is generally one of exclusion and seclusion. Thus in their male-oriented society, the "control over Muslim women is solely the province of male relatives, who are expected to provide economic support for their women at all times, irrespective of the woman's status" (Youssef, 204). Though women's role has visibly improved with modern times, still male hegemony exists and the veil in many places privatizes women.

Mrs. Ardavi has no such veil as she descends the plane, but a kerchief worn over her smooth gray hair. Her American trip presents a significant meaning of independence, however fleeting, to a woman of her kind.

It is a lucid portrayal of an airport scene that Tyler presents as the old woman goes through immigration, baggage claims, customs; as details of all her belongings, gifts and assorted native food leap to life. Only a woman can cramp so much in so little space what the customs official impersonally handles. How very feminine is her nervousness heightened most pronouncedly by a language barrier. She is lost in such a maze that when Hassan shows up and utters "Khanom Jun," a name used by her children only, she shows no signs

of recognition.

For even he has changed — added weight, a thick moustache, graying hair. When he kisses her on both cheeks, only his pleasantly bitter, herblike smell is recognized by her. The Hassan quietly driving her to his brick colonial house is not the lean young man of twelve years ago. And the mother is peeved by his silence for she has saved gossips and family stories for this meeting. A woman's great concern about how she is treated stifles even her urge to be inquisitive about things strange to her.

The family meeting focuses on disparate cultures in an American setting that teems with modernism. While Elizabeth's Persian greeting of welcome to her foreign mother-in-law delights the old woman, Hassan's "Now?" to his mother's expressed desire to see the child Hilary although asleep foreshadows future conflicts. Elizabeth's consent, to which the man gives in, presupposes intuitive feminine understanding.

Before her arrival, the Ardavi couple prepares for everything to make the old woman's stay wholesome. Even Elizabeth's language problem is taken care of by a Persian textbook. And his mother's daily three-time prayer, by a pocket compass for facing Mecca. But they have not been ready for fractured feelings resulting from differences in social value orientations and female domestic moves.

The role Tyler gives to the elder Ardavi woman veers contrapuntally away opposite that of Elizabeth. It has been traditionally so in any part of the earth — the rocky daughter-in-law mother-in-law relation. It smacks of the competition between the two for a husband or a son and for a tighter grasp of the domestic scepter wherever is the venue.

For the most part, the narrative is an incisive yet charming study in deterioration of family ties. Had Hassan retained his native culture, he could have been more tolerant of his mother's lifestyle and actuations. But Western acculturation makes him balk openly in protest. However, a piquant treatment saves the story from grimness and maudlin sentimentalism.

In imbuing her passages with authentic slants, the writer displays her handling with artistry. Her world moves with the day-to-day realism of the American experience as lived by Americans or foreigners in that country. Uncontrived in manner, Tyler reveals this through Mrs. Ardavi's letter to her sisters in Tehran.

The exchange of letters between sisters unfolds opposing views. What Mrs. Ardavi professes to be marvelous like the American tight schedule of activities, the adept organization of things, Elizabeth's appropriate use of her time, seem terrible to her sisters who do nothing but simply spend the hours over cup after cup of tea, surmising who are coming to visit them.

Mrs. Ardavi's bond to her sisters with whom she lives in their family estate in Tehran since her widowhood is a sign of women's awakened confidence in themselves. According to Janeway, one of the unexpected bonuses of liberation for women is an increased capacity to enjoy oneself in one's own way, to be the pleased person instead of the one who is expected to do the pleasing (Janeway: 9). Even her going to America proves that she is also entitled to her share of the right to enjoy.

In the story, routinary scenes described with craftsmanship make one feel the varied texture of the characters' private lives. It is both an exploration and a

discovery. Of Hassan as he performs with Western precision his medical profession. And at home, as he functions as a human leverage between the women of his life to achieve an ordering of reality. Of Mrs. Ardavi who, while gravitating in a Christian world, entrapped by the onrush of a totally diverse culture, clings tenaciously to her religious rituals and her Moslem diet. Of Elizabeth who doles out allowances and makes adjustments wherever she can to accommodate a visiting mother-in-law and is at times successful in keeping a tight rein on her emotions.

But as days lengthen, so are nerves frayed. Mrs. Ardavi, with her lack of facility in the English language becomes aware that "boundaries kept shifting, and sometimes it was she who was the foreigner but other times Elizabeth, or even Hassan. (Wasn't it true, she often wondered, that there was a greater distance between men and women than between Americans and Iranians, or even Eskimos and Iranians?)"

The impersonal atmosphere in this new country defies her comprehension. The undemonstrativeness, the separateness of people sometimes pains her. Even the child Hilary dodges her endearments, her yearning hands. And frets when they speak Persian. But, as in the rest of the world, a child bridges cavernous gaps. So it is with the two women, whose conversation is easier or even unnecessary as long as Hilary is around.

Mrs. Ardavi's presence in the household upsets the familial equilibrium. It is usually with pinching satire and a dash of pungent humor that Tyler unfurls how the pattern is shaken to the core.

The ways of elderly women, particularly Easterners, can be puzzling to the West. They have the propensity to

relate to others, to communicate with other women. While before it meant herding and subordination, now feminists reinterpret this female penchant for togetherness as a sharing of life as friends and not as rivals for approval by men. There is this innate longing for communicating with other women in the park by Mrs. Ardavi. But due to language barrier, she can only laugh. And profusely so. Something seldom done by American women.

People of the East are prone to laughter. It comes to them easily. An acute sense of humor pricks them to laugh even at their own defeats and disappointments. A sign of superiority, somebody avers. Expansive by nature, Mrs. Ardavi is also fascinated by private lives of people. She asks Elizabeth a lot of questions about strangers that interest her in the supermarket. While the act is met with Asian tolerance for elderly females, it spells meddling to the Westerners. Thus she is not satisfied with her daughter-in-law's soft responses.

A critical part of the selection suggestive of the difficulty of a union of two worlds takes place one day in the kitchen, the woman's kingdom, her domain. Mrs. Ardavi's distaste for American food or for Iranian cooking savoring of an American taste causes the loss of proper table manner as practiced in the West. But this could not be an ethical flaw in her own society, otherwise she could not have blatantly complained, while eating — "It's been three full days since I moved my bowels." Filtering through Hassan's retort of "At the table, Khanom? At the table?" are two possibilities. He could be censuring his mother for a lapse in table etiquette. Or, he could be asserting his superiority as male to an inferior female. Never-

theless, the mother assumes her old role. The pattern is shaken as she decides to cook supper herself.

The female cold war has its initial stroke. The old woman is well-meaning and asks Elizabeth to rest as she takes over. But the clatter and the disorderliness and the smell of Eastern ingredients are more than the American daughter-in-law can permit. Limited in Persian vocabulary, she protests by means of slams and folded arms and eating little. Elizabeth sets the old woman pondering "how American got so tall on such small supper." Hassan, nevertheless, has several helpings and gains considerable pounds.

The mother's happiness about her son's weight is counterpoised by Elizabeth's English comment which is reciprocated also in English by Hassan. This linguistic shift augurs ill particularly in a land where speaking a language in the company of others who are not versed in it smacks of impoliteness. Moreover, the non-verbal communication between husband and wife evokes a plethora of inferences. A downcast glance at her plate, softly spoken English words, Hassan's reaching across the table to cover her hand. His dilemma is not quite distant from that of the young man Chi-p'ing. After all, a man torn between two women whether in China or in America gets his fill of a harrowing experience. A crisis is a crisis anywhere.

A closer look at their evenings together spotlights the same design. Mrs. Ardavi watches television, her son has his eyes glued to the tube also ready to translate for her difficult plots and Elizabeth, reading her novels. During moments of deafening silence which engulf the trio, the mother would complain of slight bodily pains and ask for medicine from Hassan. Censured by

the son for disturbing him, she would lapse into silence and bid the couple goodnight.

This is attention-getting from a mother accustomed to being enthroned at the household center. As a house guest, even of her son, she is shunted to the periphery of the circle.

On the other hand, the accelerating frequency of silence and Elizabeth's pale and puffy face some mornings restrain her from talking. Her womanly intuition is at work and she senses something is awry with things.

Verbalized, however, is her grandmother's concern for Hilary's health when they go for a walk during a warm spell in February. For fear that the girl would catch cold, she suggests that her head be covered. Elizabeth peremptorily disagrees.

As a mother, she is "the sole or primary guardian of the child's everyday needs" (Jaquette, 1974: 38). And confining is this motherhood role to the exclusion of even her husband's mother.

When next morning Hilary becomes sick and is taken to the pediatrician, Mrs. Ardavi says that it is her ears. Hassan blurts out his anger: "Do you always know better than the experts? What are we coming to the doctor for? We could have talked to you and saved the trip." The mother is hurt but understands her son's anxiety.

Mother supremacy tells her to smother further remarks upon knowing that she is right — an infection in the middle ear. But, during breakfast, she reminds Elizabeth of her previous day's wish that the child wear a hat. She blames her daughter-in-law for the illness which could have killed Hilary. To all these remonstrances, Elizabeth merely says *No*. (Was her Persian that scanty?

Lately it seemed to have shrunk and hardened, like a piece of stale bread.) Thoughts like these punctuate the story giving the reader a singular chance to sidle into the cogitations of the fictive characters.

A cold treatment Elizabeth gives once again to her mother-in-law. She picks up the child and walks out of the room. The rest of the day, she spends cleaning, discarding things. When Hassan comes home, he goes upstairs, stays there for a long time with the door shut behind him. That night, Hassan is serious when he charges his mother of interference.

Cleaning the cabinet and throwing unwanted objects seem to be a universal refuge of angry women. The gesture can be symbolic of a covert desire to do away with unwanted emotions, however legitimate, or people, however close in their kinship. Women's ire the world over has produced the shiniest kitchens and sanitized the dingiest nooks of houses.

Like a crescendo of a musical piece, taut emotions rush to a climax. During one of Elizabeth's cleaning sprees, "fits of throwing things away" as Mrs. Ardavi puts it, Elizabeth sees a confectioner's box brought by her mother-in-law from Iran but somehow left forgotten. She pries the lid off and like Pandora's box, from it flies a cloud of insects even as the mixed nuts and dried currants roll on the floor. Elizabeth just sits on the nearest chair and buries her head in her hands. Even when called by Hassan, she does not look at him but goes to their bedroom and shuts the door with a definite click.

Hassan's conversation next morning with his mother is business-like and evocative of the West. He apprises her of an American custom to have house guests for three months only and after that they

move to a separate apartment. He will be glad to provide an apartment for her. While impressed by the offer, Mrs. Ardavi has never lived alone a day in her life in alienation. So, she declines the offer and tells him of her plan to leave.

Tyler artistically spins her ending with a semblance of her beginning. Hassan is again seen driving his mother to the airport almost wordlessly. She has an overweight of fourteen pounds. All trivia, but a trove to a woman like Mrs. Ardavi – empty urn-shaped wine bottles, pressed bed sheets, a sample box of detergent. Again, Hassan censures her for wanting to show all those to her sisters at his expense. But her vague look, her childlike eyes make him give in.

Then the curt farewells. In the receding crowd, only his mother with her kerchief and her shawl seems undeniably a foreigner.

Set against a Western ambience, this story proves that female power failed in adjusting to entirely new circumstances. The harried housewife and the widowed mother-in-law, though at the beginning were strangers to the unlikable in-law syndrome, could not see things properly from their own perspectives. A major setback to an optimal human interaction is the cultural dissonances. Even Hassan's "But this is not Iran, remember?" supports it.

Elizabeth's openness is alien to Mrs. Ardavi. And the older woman's concern for the child is neither meddling nor interfering in the East where people are attuned to an extended family system and a tightly-knit relationship.

Things, however, could have been worse if there was no language chasm. If both women were loud-mouthed and uncouth. And if Elizabeth had not bundled Hilary and sought isolation in

the confines of her room each time she was displeased. Or, if Mrs. Ardavi had not been sensitive to brewing discords.

Hassan's male tentativeness during tightening situations temporarily glossed over the rough edges. But when he had to face squarely life's reality, he decided in a Western fashion. Direct to the point, no circumlocution. Like cutting off a gangrened leg in a surgeon's objective manner, unheeded of the patient's faltering lament.

Tyler's women are strong in their weakness, in their "otherness" like Yu Li-hua's older sister. Often, they are clam-lipped and seek their emotional outlets in wifely chores or in spinsterish fetishism.

Very tame, very civilized, these little worlds of Yu Li-hua and Anne Tyler. Where women, for all the flurry of mixed emotionalism, can oftentimes master their passions. And appear calm even in the thick of depression.

Indelibly carved in the Chinese narrative is a young man's pleading jeremiad. He it is, and not the sister, whose guarded thoughts fizzle out. She rushes away wordlessly to her world of marbles. Hoping, as only old maids can endlessly hope, for the return of Chi-p'ing. Fondling, pushing the marbles, kissing them as only spinsters can capably surround themselves with antidotes against solitariness. This is the intransigence of single women. At times dwarfing married women's claim to strength.

Elizabeth in America, though belonging to the libbing days, zealously guards her temper. A hastened retreat to her room or an annotated *No* dramatizes, however insipidly, her female sentiment. Even the mother-in-law, generously gifted with a flair for the gab once given the opportunity, refrains from articulating her

inner ramblings.

Varied, truly, are the ways of women. Yet, however wide be the distance between East and West, somehow a reverberation is carried ashore by the lapping waves.

Like the Chinese woman with her centuries of historicity or the member of a purdah society stamped by her veil of subjugation or the Western female bearing the placard of the feminist movement, the Filipina is relatively young, unyoked yet neither shunning male chauvinism nor openly adhering to the cult of feminism.

In her veins is an iota of Chinese blood. She represents "a flowering of the cultures that have taken root and grown in the fertile soil of our islands" (Marcos, 1969: 18). Thus a blending of values finds expression in her ways even as she nurtures her ancient native heritage.

However, time and again, a Filipina comes out apart from her tribe and dares the male society with her non-otherness for reasons all her own. Just like other women of other races. And because of such singularity, she is annexed to literature as that whom Leoncio P. Deriada captures realistically in his *The Dog-Eaters* (1978: 398-408).

It is a typical Filipina, this Mariana of Artiaga Street in a depressed Manila neighborhood who one morning shouts and curses. At the dog-eating men from the store across the street who invite her man. At her husband Victor who is getting ready to accept the invitation for an early drinking bout with dog meat as *apéritif*.

Mariana's anger, her biting words are taken nonchalantly by a condescending man. She has long been fed up with Victor's inability to be a good provider, with the poverty buffeting their sordid life, her three-month pregnancy and an

eight-month-old baby in the crib.

The summer heat from the ceiling of their house abets her wrath and she is poised for a fight. Taunting words she slaps at him, jeering invectives of an irate female, not expecting her man to answer back. But he does and this makes her angrier. "Why don't you do something instead of drinking their stinking *tuba* and eating their filthy meat? Why don't you be decent for a change?"

Victor seems ready also for a squabble, and when he retaliates his voice sounds canine to Mariana's snarls.

"And what's so indecent about eating dog meat? The people of Artiaga have been eating dog meat as long as I can remember."

"No wonder their manners have gone to the dogs!"

"You married one of them."

"Yes, to lead a dog's life."

And Mariana threatens to slaughter his dog Ramir who does nothing but bark at strangers, dirty the doorstep, enslave her. The man turns to the door, the final insult to the woman.

She bangs the door three times, shrieking "Go", Eat and drink until your tongue hangs like a mad dog's. Then I'll call a veterinarian."

Mariana unleashes the bridle of Filipino conventional codes. She casts away Oriental inhibitions. Unlike many of the Filipino women, she is unadorned by any academic degree, having eloped with Victor during her junior year as an education student. For Victor was attractive as a teen-ager. But because he had no fixed job, he transferred from one insignificant work to another. The last one as a substitute in a construction company where he showed up only when a man did not report for duty. These last few days, nobody got sick and Victor had

to stay home.

Filipinas, indeed, have come a full circle with a job and a career. But her womanliness remains.

These days, the new Filipina, when shorn of her modern carapace, reveals still a delicate and sensitive interior that is not altogether modern. Because while enjoying equality with men, if not downright superiority over them, she is still every inch a woman, at times coy, at times blatantly frank, capable of blushing although firmly secure in sharing her role in a universe of men.

It is a cross-cultural encounter that shapes her and makes her so unique. The Spanish heritage, the American influence, the Malayan temper manifest themselves with vividness in her interplay with others. The Chinese presence is a recurring note intimating their common chords (Encarnacion, 75).

In Mariana's abhorrence of a life hemmed in by penury and want, she breaks away from the mold. Steers another course. And even suggests a matriarchal supremacy in her words and ways.

Her brusque banging of the door is the direct contrast to Elizabeth's gentle but definitive click as she turns away from her mother-in-law. Looking at these female negative responses, one discerns a dichotomy of transparencies. While the Filipina flaunts a resounding to-do of her ire, the American displays it almost soundlessly. In the final analysis, the Western style seems more final and admits of no reconciliation, definitely severing relations.

There is no closing of doors to exhibit the tempest in Chi-p'ing's elder sister. But, the wisdom of ancient China dominates even female revulsion. Her voice so low, almost inaudible in anger

but can be hissing and threateningly aggressive. Immutable in her decision, the sister desires to have her way, however archaic. It is revealed not in apparent bold challenges nor in ice-cold treatment but in a discreet approach, quietly superior but engagingly female.

The coming of Aling Elpidia, the fish and vegetable vendor, means more than the daily purchase of a poor man's meal. It is Mariana's freedom to do away with the life in her womb through a forty-peso concoction of bitter liquid, leaves and tiny, gnarled roots.

When the vendor leaves and Victor returns, Mariana resumes the quarrel. The house now is hotter and Victor is red-eyed and sweating. More reproaches, more insults on his joblessness, on their rat's nest, their stinking neighborhood. Victor thinks she understood his situation even before marriage and pacifies her, not wanting to fight. But she gores him to it. The man pleads with her to be reasonable. She retorts.

"You are not reasonable. You never tried to please me. You would rather be with your stinking friends and drink their dirty wine and eat their dirty meat. Oh, how I hate it, Victor!"

"What do you want me to do — stay here and boil the baby's milk?"

"I wish you would!"

"That's your job. You are a woman."

"Oh, how you admire yourself for being a man."

This exchange of man-woman polemics on manhood and womanhood inveighs against the battering down of the familial cell. It is male chauvinism versus female power. Mariana ceases to be the female private figure and her "legacy of devaluation and of the old directive to please is gone." She is explicit in her wish to be pleased by her man. As such, hers stops

being the traditional role "to live for others and find their identities in personal relationships." She opts for co-existence. But implies much more when she attacks him with "And so I'm mad. I'm mad because I don't eat dog meat. I'm mad because I want my husband to make a man of himself."

This does not entail browbeating, her intent is to put the man where he should rightly be in a man's world. Mariana, though irascible, insists on hugging the old role while openly displaying, however unawarlingly, her edge over the man in their domestic hierarchy, an offshoot of financial straits. She is not a woman awakening but a woman awakening her man. It is a hazard she takes in this scuffle as she confronts the old alternative offered women: "to be womanly and loved, or unwomanly and disliked."

Victor learns of the abortion plan and throws the bottle outside the window, breaking it into pieces. Even Ramir fears the smell of the liquid. Mariana vents her frustration on the man — scratches his face, pounds his chest, spits at him, bites him. A woman's fury in full blast.

In life as in literature, man shows his stature through tolerance. Victor is tolerant of his woman's rage, freed from conventional repression, flaunting rationality and firmness. But only for a while. He raises his hand later to strike Mariana but she offers her face, daring him and completing his humiliation. The man drops his hand, lost, unmanned. When he raises his hand again, Mariana is quick to parry the blow with a stool but the man catches the object. She drives him out of the room and hurls her anger on the domestic objects.

Then Ramir barks and a cruel thought crosses her mind. Her first attempt at killing the dog with a knife fails for Ramir

senses it and bares his fangs at her. Finally, as the dog rushes up the stairs, she slips the end of the chain under the railing, pulls the leash and Ramir hurtles into space, dangles below her, yelps, and stops kicking the air. As the chain is released, the canine carcass drops on the ground with a thud. This is witnessed by a crowd.

Mariana sits on the topmost step of the stairs, stares blankly at the rusty rooftops and cries for the first time in her life at Artiaga Street.

Deriada has rendered very faithfully in his story a scene distinctly apart from the other two narratives. It depicts the cruelty of truth, unrelieved by any sign of tenderness. It is not Pi-chueh nor Mrs. Ardavi who is *de trop* and superfluous, but the unborn baby, even Victor himself. And this raises a question.

Why are some women so strong and so able? Julie Y. Daza answers it in her *The Best of Medium Rare* with "because the men are weak. And why are they weak? Because all their lives, boys and men are pampered by the women in their lives — grandmothers and mothers, aunts, sisters, godmothers, mothers-in-law, sweethearts, wives, mistresses, secretaries, daughters" (1979: 57). Could this account for the view that women are the deadlier between the two?

As has been earlier mentioned, Mariana is not the archetype of Filipino women. But, in every societal segment, particularly one tinged with contemporaneity, there is always a Mariana, individual cases of women hammering their rights, their grievances, pushing too hard, time and again, to their own jeopardy or detriment. Protesting, debasing their men.

For the Filipino women now, their place is not only the home. It is also

out there — in industry, in government, in education, wherever they can be of help. As equal partners of men, not as adversaries or enemies or substitutes or surrogates. Mrs. Marcos appropriately defines her task in *The Ideas of Imelda Romualdez Marcos* when she opines that perhaps the Oriental woman, the woman of the developing countries, understands this better than her more fortunate sisters. In the harsh life in which she must play her part, many times a life haunted by hunger and fear, her concept of equality transcends the individual and her personal prerogatives, ambitions and achievements. Instead, her traditions tell her that equality for a woman is to be found in sharing fully and equally in the *fortunes and misfortunes* of her family and her community (195-6).

As a whole, women in the Philippines are so different from Mariana in that they do not scoff at their role as wife, mother and home-maker. This they fully accept as their mission for humankind. José P. Rizal, the Filipino national hero, once wrote a letter to the young women of Malolos exhorting them to be reasonable and to open their eyes because they are the ones who open the minds of men (Rizal, 1889: 111).

Perhaps this is woman's chief claim to greatness and Deriada's message in his

Philippine category.

The three narratives are three pictures welded in a societal gallery. Women are the subjects, occupants of the center stage, viewed from different vantage points, from varying gazebos. Yu Li-hua's unmarried elder sister, Tyler's daughter-in-law — mother-in-law tandem, Deriada's Mariana. All strong in a womanly sense, wielding woman power, exploiting like the predatory female but receding to the background in humble acceptance that, after all is said and done, they are still encompassed by a patriarchal order, still relying on male strength as they face the changing universe.

Even feminist Simone de Beauvoir (1952: 30) so concedes when she writes:

Woman is weaker than man; she has less muscular strength, fewer red blood corpuscles, less lung capacity; she runs more slowly, can lift less heavy weights, can compete with man in hardly any sport; she cannot stand up to him in a fight. To all this weakness must be added the instability, the lack of control, and the fragility. . . these are facts. Her grasp on the world is thus more restricted; she has less firmness and less steadiness available for projects that in general she is less capable of carrying out.

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Chuang Tzu's View of Freedom

(Part II)

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(劉昌元)

As we have seen, in the "outer chapters" Chuang Tzu has used *hsing* and *ming* (fate, destiny) together. Freedom not only means following one's nature, but also means accepting and resting in (*an*) one's fate. Here we have touched on the third meaning of Chuang Tzu's idea of freedom.

3. Freedom as Being Content (*An*) with One's Fate (*Ming*)

In the "inner chapters" Chuang Tzu often talks about fate (*ming*). For him the attitude which one should have toward fate is "*an*." Burton Watson translates this word as "to be content with" and "to rest in." But neither has completely conveyed the original meaning. In Chinese "*an*." means "secure," "safe," "peace," "at ease," etc. Of course, "to be content with" is implied in the word "*an*." But it should be noticed that in the original text Chuang Tzu uses the word "*an*" as a verb instead of an adjective. By "*an*" Chuang Tzu does not mean the kind of satisfaction which one feels because one's desires are fulfilled. On the contrary, it means that the subject actively makes himself peaceful in facing

whatever his fate brings. The perfection of virtue is "to understand what you can do nothing about and to be content with (*an*) it as with fate" (Ch. 3). A similar sentence appears in Chapter Four: "To know what you can't do anything about, and to be content with it as you would with fate — only a man of virtue can do that." Judging from these passages, it is clear that to be content with one's fate is an important aspect of Chuang Tzu's idea of freedom.

According to these two quotations, fate refers to "what we can do nothing about." Thus fate seems to mean something "inevitable" as Fung Yu-lan's translation shows (see his translation of the same passages). Does this mean that Chuang Tzu's idea of fate implies a certain determinism? Unfortunately, just what Chuang Tzu means by fate is so vaguely presented in *Chuang Tzu* that a definite interpretation is probably out of the question. But it may be worthwhile to introduce some commentators' interpretations.

As noted in a passage quoted in the last section, *ming* is defined in Chapter Twelve of *Chuang Tzu*: "What was formless, was divided, though the division is

not clearly made, was called Fate (*ming*).” This is Fung’s translation, and it does not really make *ming* understandable. Let us see how the same sentence is translated by Burton Watson and Wing-tsit Chan.

Watson: Before things had forms, they had their allotments; these were of many kinds, but not cut off from one another, and they were called fates.

Chan: That which is formless is divided . . . and from beginning going on without interruption is called destiny (*ming*, fate).³²

Watson’s translation is no better. Chan’s translation has emphasized the continuity and persistency of fate, but the distinction between *ming* and Tao is hard to detect. Fung probably realizes the vagueness of his translation; therefore he explains later: “What brings things from formlessness into a condition in which they have form and existence is termed Fate.”³³ This does clarify the meaning of fate to a greater extent. But the distinction between *te* and *ming* seems to disappear.

The problem of translation lies in the Chinese text of *Chuang Tzu* itself. All the differences are based on how “*che jan wu chien* (且然無間)” is interpreted. According to Hsü Fu-kuan “*che jan*” means “what a thing gets (from Tao) is what it gets,” whereas “*wu chien*” means “without the slightest modifications.”³⁴ Based on this explanation, Hsü thinks that “*ming*” in *Chuang Tzu* belongs to the same realm as “*te*” and “*hsing*.” The idea of *ming* is used by Chuang Tzu to emphasize the determinate quality in *hsing*.³⁵ That is why Chuang

Tzu has often used *hsing* and *ming* together.

It is hard to decide which of these interpretations is really what Chuang Tzu means by fate. But Hsu’s interpretation seems superior because it makes the word *ming* more significant in the text.³⁶ I think that Chuang Tzu uses “*ming*” to refer to the determining power of Tao, not only in relation to *hsing* but also in relation to the events which occur in human life. That is why Chuang Tzu writes in Chapter Five:

Life, death, preservation, loss, failure, success, poverty, riches, worthiness, unworthiness, slander, fame, hunger, thirst, cold, heat — these are the alternations of the world, and workings of fate. Day and night they change place before us and wisdom cannot spy out their source. Therefore, they should not be enough to destroy our harmony; they should not be allowed to enter the storehouse of spirit.

Thus not only life, death, richness, and poverty, but also moral achievement are subject to the determination of fate.³⁷ These things are all determined by fate because human understanding cannot figure out exactly how and why things happen at this moment just as they are and not otherwise. Thus in his commentary on the above — quoted passage, Kuo Hsiang writes:

It is not by accident that we have our life. It is not by chance that our life is what it is. The universe is very extended; things are very numerous. Yet, in and among them, we are just what we are. Even the universe itself, even the state or the sage, even the most strong or the most wise, cannot be exceptions to this general rule. What

we are not, we cannot be. What we are, we cannot but be. What we do not do, we cannot do. What we do, we cannot but do. Let everything be what it is, and then you have peace.³⁸

If Chuang Tzu's determinism is still vague and implicit, it certainly becomes explicit in Kuo Hsiang. Of course, Kuo's commentary sometimes reveals his own philosophy rather than Chuang Tzu's thought itself. For example, Kuo stresses the idea of self-transformation (or self-creation) which greatly reduces the metaphysical characteristic in Chuang Tzu. But on this point I think Kuo's commentary is excellent.

In Chapter Six, Tzu Sang, a very poor and sick man, feebly sang: "Father? Mother? Heaven? Man?" When his friend asked him why he sang a song like that, Tzu Sang answered:

I was pondering what it is that has brought me to this extremity, but I couldn't find the answer. My father and mother surely wouldn't wish this poverty on me. Heaven covers all without partiality . . . heaven . . . surely wouldn't single me out to make me poor. I try to discover who is doing it, but I can't get the answer. Still, here I am — at the very extreme. It must be fate.

Again, the word fate refers to something whose source is unknown, and something we cannot do anything about. In attributing his extreme situation to the power of fate, Tzu Sang has accepted his fate without blaming others. His emotional disturbance ceases and his ego is transcended. He has opened his heart to something beyond himself and viewed things from there, not from his personal desires.

In his revised edition of *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Fung Yu-lan interprets Chuang Tzu's thought as a kind of fatalism.³⁹ He thinks that in the theory of fate Chuang Tzu has touched on the problem of necessity and freedom. Chuang Tzu recognizes the necessity in the development of society and nature. But from the agnostic point of view, he denies the knowability of that necessity. On the other hand, Chuang Tzu wants freedom. Therefore his freedom is nothing but obeying necessity. For Fung, however, this way of relating freedom and necessity has shown that Chuang Tzu has understood neither freedom nor necessity. Chuang Tzu does not understand necessity because it has become a blind power with which man can do nothing. He does not understand freedom because it has become a subjective fiction. True freedom, according to Fung, should be based on the understanding of necessary laws and the activity of the subject. In other words, it should consist in the understanding of necessary laws of nature through which man can change his living condition. Thus Chuang Tzu's idea of fate reflects the consciousness of an aristocrat, who asks people to be satisfied with their present situation and comfort themselves with a fictitious freedom.

Fung has not defined what he means by fatalism. Judging from common understanding, it seems to mean a theory which claims that whatever happens to one's life is pre-determined by one's fate which is arranged by a transcendent power such as God's. A typical example of this kind of fatalism can be found in Greek tragedy. Sophocles' Oedipus has the wisdom to solve the riddle of the sphinx, but all his efforts to avoid his fate are completely useless and futile. If

this is what Fung means by fatalism, then his interpretation of Chuang Tzu is questionable. For Chuang Tzu's idea of fate does not refer to a transcendent power. Rather it is the immanent determining power of Tao. Chuang Tzu has never denied the importance of understanding and inner cultivation.

Fung is right in indicating that Chuang Tzu's theory of fate has touched on the problem of freedom and necessity. But the necessity in Chuang Tzu's idea of fate does not seem to refer to the necessity of natural laws. Rather, it seems to emphasize the necessity of things which happen in our life. These things are necessary because they could not have happened differently if we chose otherwise. In this sense Chuang Tzu seems also to deny that man can have an absolute freedom of will.⁴⁰

What Chuang Tzu advocates is preserving life and cultivating one's own nature. For this reason, he does not object to understanding the laws of nature. That is why his naturalistic philosophy has contributed to the development of science and technology in China.⁴¹ The freedom which he stresses lies in man's spiritual life, not in man's power to control nature or change one's living condition. It is clear that Fung's criticism is based on his Marxist convictions. Chuang Tzu's freedom seems to him fictitious because the two men have defined freedom differently. We cannot deny that in practice Chuang Tzu's thought may easily lead one into illusions and self-deception. But we must not neglect the fact that to be content with one's fate may be an expression of a higher stage of man's spiritual life.

Chuang Tzu asks people to be content with their fate, but he never asks people to escape from their duty. On the

contrary, to fulfill one's duty in all conditions without any anxiety or disturbance of mind is a part of accepting one's fate. In Chapter Four, Chuang Tzu tells a story about an official who was being sent to another state on an important mission. Having received his order, this official was so worried about the possible failure of his mission that his mind was completely upset. Even drinking ice water could not relieve the heat he felt inside. Chuang Tzu's advice to this man is put in Confucius' mouth:

In the world . . . there are two great binding principles. One is destiny; the other is duty. A child's love for its parents is destiny; it is inseparable from the child's heart. A subject's allegiance to his sovereign is duty; he must have a sovereign; there is no escape in the world . . . Therefore, to serve one's parents willingly, no matter what condition one is in, is the perfection of filial piety. To serve one's sovereign willingly, no matter what he asks to have done, is the height of loyalty (Fung's translation).

What is emphasized in this passage is not the virtue of filial piety and loyalty so much as it is the attitude of man toward what is inescapable and what is inseparable from one's nature. Whether filial piety and loyalty really belong to the realm of fate and duty is less important. What is important is to carry out one's duty and not to be moved by emotions. That is why immediately after these words quoted above, Chuang Tzu adds: "To serve your own mind so that sadness or joy does not sway or move it; to understand what you can do nothing about and to be content with it as with fate — this is the perfection of virtue."

4. Freedom as Release from One's Spiritual Bondage

The idea of freedom in *Chuang Tzu* may also be examined in the relation between *hsin* (mind) and *ch'ing* (emotion). In this respect freedom means release from the bondage of emotions. When a man is dominated by his emotions and forgets what he has received from nature, he is said by Chuang Tzu "to violate the principle of nature."⁴² Men who are no longer affected by sorrow and joy are called "the men of God who were released from bondage."⁴³ It is clear that to free man from his spiritual "handcuffs and fetters" (Ch. 4) is the core of Chuang Tzu's philosophical concern.

In explaining freedom as release from one's spiritual bondage, Chuang Tzu concentrates his thought on the human mind. Mind, as explained in Section Two, is a kind of spiritual power which, when well cultivated, can unify man with Tao. The kind of mind which has developed its spiritual power is called "the vacuous mind" (Ch. 4), "the Spirit Storehouse" (Ch. 5), "the constant mind" (Ch. 5), and "the Spirit Tower" (Chs. 19, 23). Of course, this kind of mind is free. But spiritual power is not always discoverable in the human mind. The mind which an ordinary man experiences in his everyday activities usually contains little or no spiritual element at all. Such a mind is a mind in bondage. It is called "the wooly mind" (Ch. 1), "the prejudiced mind" (Ch. 2), "the machine mind" (Ch. 12), etc. For Chuang Tzu the road to freedom is to transform the mind from the second kind to the first.

Concerning the second kind of mind, Chuang Tzu has the following descriptions:

In sleep, men's spirits go visiting; in walking hours, their bodies hustle. With everything they meet they become entangled. Day after day they use their minds in strife, sometimes grandiose, sometimes sly, sometimes petty. Their little fears are mean and trembly; their great fears are stunned and overwhelming. They bound off like an arrow or a crossbow pellet, certain that they are the arbiters of right and wrong. They cling to their positions as though they have sworn before gods, sure that they are holding on to victory. They fade like fall and winter — such is the way they dwindle day by day. They drown in what they do — you cannot make them turn back. They grow dark, as though sealed with seals — such are the excesses of their old age. And when their minds draw near death, nothing can restore them to the light.

Joy, anger, grief, worry, regret, fickleness, inflexibility, modesty, willfulness, candor, indolence — music from empty holes, mushrooms springing up in dampness, day and night replacing each other before us, and no one knows where they sprout from (Ch. 2).

This kind of mind can be easily discovered if one examines one's mental states in everyday life. As T'ang Chün-I correctly indicates, it is similar to what modern psychologists call associative thinking, imagination, streams of consciousness, the drive in subconsciousness, etc.⁴⁴ Being pushed by inner desires and attracted by external things, it rushes out as a "galloping horse." It easily attaches itself to external things and becomes entangled with their changes. The activities of such a mind do not stop even in sleep, for anxiety, dread, mental conflicts, and unfulfilled desires may still create dreams which disturb his rest. Thus our mind is like something hanging between heaven and earth and

suffers the storm of emotions from all directions (Ch. 26). The spiritual light may become dimmed day by day. Finally it may become completely extinguished. Such a mind is called by Chuang Tzu "dead" (Chs. 2, 21). It is the greatest lamentation for a man.

Emotions are the source of the mind's bondage. But our emotions do not exist independently. They arise from the interaction between our subjective desires and external conditions. Thus anything can be regarded as a form of bondage if it hinders man from realizing the necessary course of Nature and the ontological identity of all things in the realm of Tao. In *Chuang Tzu* various spiritual bonds are discussed. Three examples which are particularly emphasized by Chuang Tzu may be used here to illustrate his point. They are: (1) the bondage of language and knowledge, (2) the bondage of conventional values and purposes, and (3) the bondage of life and death.

(1) The bondage of language and knowledge. For Chuang Tzu the highest spiritual freedom is actualized in the experience of identifying with Tao. But neither Tao nor the experience of Tao is speakable. Thus a man who cannot accept any philosophical truth except that which can be verified by common experience or conveyed by language is certainly in bondage. The purpose of language is to convey meaning. When the meaning evades conceptual analysis, one has to transcend the boundary of language in order to see what the language tries to illuminate. For Chuang Tzu, a logician (such as his friend Hui Shih) who spends his time and energy in argument and logical analysis but forgets about the importance of the inner experience is really not wise because his

skill does not help him to achieve the ultimate self-knowledge. Endless arguments and hair-splitting analysis do not bring us wisdom of life. For this reason Chuang Tzu's own usage of language is often dialectical. What cannot be directly communicated is elucidated through indirect communication. And just because he knows well the limits of language and argument, he recommends silence where language and argument fail to communicate.

Concerning knowledge, Chuang Tzu warns:

There is a limit to our life, but to knowledge there is no limit. With what is limited to pursue what is unlimited is a perilous thing. When knowing this, we still seek to increase our knowledge, the peril cannot be averted (Ch. 3, Fung's translation).

This seems to suggest that Chuang Tzu rejects all knowledge and asks people to be satisfied with ignorance. But this is not what he means. The important thing in this passage is the desire to "pursue," which is one essential characteristic of the mind in bondage. In this aspect, pursuing knowledge is not different from pursuing fame, wealth, and other things which are alien to the true form of human nature. Thus the knowledge mentioned here essentially refers to the knowledge which may lead the mind more and more away from its original place and finally extinguish its spiritual light in the infinite pursuit of external things. This kind of knowledge is called small knowledge (Ch. 2), the knowledge which arises from contention (Ch. 4), etc. It is this kind of knowledge that Chuang Tzu and other Taoists want to eliminate. As Lao Tzu says in

Tao Te Ching, "The pursuit of learning is to increase day by day. The pursuit of Tao is to decrease day by day" (Ch. 48).

The fact that Chuang Tzu does not object to the objective study of Nature and man may be seen from the following passage:

He who knows what it is that Heaven does, and knows what it is that man does, has reached the peak. Knowing what it is that Heaven does, he lives with Heaven. Knowing what it is that man does, he uses the knowledge of what he knows to help out the knowledge of what he does not know and lives out the years that Heaven gave him without being cut off midway — this is the perfection of knowledge (Ch. 6).

But if the mind stops at this kind of knowledge, it still cannot enjoy the highest freedom. As I indicated in Section One, all distinctions, even the distinction between Heaven and man, are dissolved in the highest knowledge. At such a stage the mind spontaneously knows with its spiritual power without the awareness of its own knowing. This is what Chuang Tzu calls "to know without [the consciousness of] knowledge" (Ch. 4). It is only when the mind has achieved such a kind of knowledge that it can be called absolutely free.

(2) The bondage of conventional values and purposes. Since Tao is beyond values and purposes, to be free one has to transcend all common values and purposes and view the world and oneself with a non-evaluative mind. As indicated in Section One, Chuang Tzu regards all ideas of values as relative. If we take any system of values as absolute and attach our mind to it, then

we shall lose our spiritual freedom. But if we abandon the conditional values, then neither the man-made evils nor the natural evils can affect us. As Burton Watson remarks:

It is this baggage of conventional values that man must first of all discard before he can be free. Chuang Tzu saw the same human sufferings that Confucius, Mo Tzu, and Mencius saw. He saw the man-made ills of war, poverty, and injustice. He saw the natural ills of disease and death. But he believed that they were ills only because man recognized them as such. If man would once forsake his habit of labeling things good or bad, desirable or undesirable, then the man-made ills which are the product of man's purposeful and value-ridden actions, would disappear and the natural ills that remain would no longer be seen as ills, but as an inevitable part of the course of life. Thus, in Chuang Tzu's eyes, man is the author of his own suffering and bondage, and all his fears spring from the web of values created by himself alone.⁴⁵

In *Chuang Tzu* the conventional idea of values is summarized as follows:

This is what the world honors: wealth, eminence, long life, a good name. This is what the world finds happiness in: a life of ease, rich food, good clothes, beautiful sights, sweet sounds. This is what it looks down on: poverty, meanness, early death, a bad name. This is what it finds bitter: a life that knows no rest, a mouth that gets no rich food, no fine clothes for the body, no beautiful sights for the eyes, no sweet sounds for the ears (Ch. 18).⁴⁶

For Chuang Tzu to let the mind pursue what is commonly called good

is to let external things which are beyond our control determine the states of our emotions. To search for spiritual freedom but still follow the conventional way of evaluating things is to demand the impossible. In Chapter Twenty-Three, Chuang Tzu tells us a story about a man who visited Lao Tzu in order to find some solution to his worries. When he appeared, Lao Tzu asked unexpectedly: "Why did you come with all this crowd of people?" The man turned around in astonishment to see whether there was really a crowd behind him. Of course there was none. Chuang Tzu's point is well stated by Watson: "The 'crowd of people' that he came with was the baggages of old ideas, the conventional concepts of right and wrong, good and bad . . . that he lugged about with him wherever he went."⁴⁷

To achieve spiritual freedom one has to find release from the conventional baggage of values, but this does not mean that Chuang Tzu himself has completely abandoned all value judgments. On the contrary, he takes freedom as something which is inherently valuable. Nothing is truly good or valuable if it is not based on preserving one's life and cultivating one's nature. There is no doubt that in a sense freedom has been taken by him as the value and purpose of life. But to achieve the highest Taoistic ideal is no longer to consider freedom as the purposive or valuable object. The highest Taoistic ideal is non-action (*wu-wei* 無爲), which is spontaneous, non-intentional, and purposeless. To explain his point Chuang Tzu has used the analogy of the skilled butcher (Ch. 2), the skilled wood-carver (Ch. 13), and the skilled swimmer (Ch. 19). Such a craftsman or artist "does not ponder or ratiocinate on the course of action he should take; his skill has

become so much a part of him that he merely acts instinctively and spontaneously and, without knowing why, achieves success."⁴⁸ That is why non-action itself is called the supreme happiness (Ch. 18).

(3) The bondage of life and death. For Chuang Tzu the natural world is always in flux. "The life of things is like a gallop, a headlong dash — with every moment it alters, with every moment it shifts" (Ch. 17). Since man is a part of Nature, he has to participate in the change as other entities do. The change of life and death is the one which has a great impact on man. We are so used to life and so attached to existence that whenever we confront death our minds always feel pathetic. Undoubtedly the attachment to life and the dread of death are among man's greatest spiritual bonds.

Chuang Tzu's attitude toward other people's death is what is called "watching the change" (*kuan hua*, 觀化).⁴⁹ That is to understand death as a part of a natural course governed by fate. This attitude is illustrated in Chin Shih's attitude toward Lao Tzu's death (Ch. 3). But Chuang Tzu's own attitude toward the death of his wife is more famous. When she died, his friend Hui Shih went to express his condolences. To his amazement, he found Chuang Tzu sitting on the ground, pounding on a tub and singing. When Hui Shih asked how he could be so unkind to his wife, Chuang Tzu answered:

When she first died, do you think I didn't grieve like anyone else? But I looked back to the beginning and the time before she was born. Not only the time before she had a body, but the time before she had a spirit. In the midst of the jumble of wonder

and mystery a change took place and she had a spirit. Another change and she had a body. Another change and she was born. Now there's been another change and she's dead. It's just like the progression of the four seasons

Now she's going to lie down peacefully in a vast room. If I were to follow after her bawling and sobbing it would show that I don't understand anything about fate. So I stopped (Ch. 18).

Upon this passage Kuo Hsiang comments: "When ignorant, he felt sorry. When he understood, he was no longer affected. This teaches man to disperse emotion with reason."⁵⁰

In regard to the death of himself, Chuang Tzu's attitude is to "transform with the change of things" (*wu hua*, 物化). In other words, since change is inevitable Chuang Tzu asks his readers to identify with change. This is one essential aspect of identifying with Tao. Death is really pathetic if we attach our mind to the human existence only. If we view things from their reciprocal transformation and from the point of view of Tao, we can no longer distinguish sharply between life and death. Thus we are back to the theme of "The Equality of Things and Opinions." It is there that the idea of Transformation of Things is proposed:

Once Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn't know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he didn't know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou. Between Chuang Chou and

a butterfly there must be *some* distinction! This is called the Transformation of Things.

From an ordinary man's point of view, Chuang Chou and a butterfly are clearly different. But from the point of view of Tao, all distinctions are dissolved. Thus the distinction between the butterfly and man can be made only in the realm of men, not in the realm of Tao or the experience in which man is identified with Tao. When the human mind has attained such a stage it enters a realm where the distinction between life and death is also transcended. It is in this stage that he vaguely hints at the immortality of man's spirit.⁵¹

When the mind is released from its bondage, its spiritual power reveals itself. Such a mind cannot be studied as an object. Neither can it be discovered if we immerse ourselves in the pursuit of external things. But under some particular situation all normal men may experience it. For example, when we are away from the city and look at the mountains and trees in the country, we often spontaneously feel that our mind is expanded. The sublime beauty of Nature purifies the conflicting desires in our mind, and brings us a moment of peace. According to Chuang Tzu, the reason why the aesthetic appreciation of Nature can give us such a feeling is that our spirit is usually narrowed by our bonds (Ch. 26).

The true nature of our mind, as already said, is a kind of spiritual power or we may simply call it "*shen*" (spirit). Originally the word "*shen*" meant deity or spirituality. It is usually connected with "*ling*" (free and spontaneous knowing) and "*ming*" (enlightenment),

as T'ang Chün-I points out.⁵² Sometimes they may be synonymous. In other words, the very meaning of *shen* suggests an enlightening power which is spontaneous and immediate. For this reason the mind which Chuang Tzu appreciates or the first kind of mind which we mentioned earlier is called the Spirit Storehouse or the Spirit Tower. This kind of mind is characterized by vacuity (*hsü*) and tranquility (*ching*). The method of achieving such a mind is called by Chuang Tzu "the fast of mind":

Maintain the unity of your will
Do not listen with ears but with the mind. Do not listen with the mind but with the spirit [ch'i]. The function of the ear ends with hearing; that of the mind with symbols or ideas. But the spirit is an emptiness ready to receive all things. *Tao* abides in the emptiness; the emptiness is the fast of mind (Ch. 4).⁵³

It is interesting to note that Chuang Tzu emphasizes the fast of mind rather than the fast of mouth. He does say that a man whose passions and desires are deep has a shallow spirituality (Ch. 6). In that case the fast of mind is impossible without the fast of mouth. But he does not propose an asceticism which wants to disperse all desires and emotions. So long as they are kept simple and spontaneous, they would not conflict with the fast of mind.

By the fast of mind Chuang Tzu means to make the mind empty so that it can be free from attachment to any specific object. Ordinarily we know things through senses and concepts (symbols or ideas). But different senses have different functions. They give us different impressions, and one has no

connection with the other. For example, the ear can hear but cannot see, while the eye can see but cannot hear. The impression which we get from the ear has no connection with the impression which we get from the eye. It is through the synthetic function of the mind that different impressions of the same objects are unified. However, the mind can do this only by applying concepts and names to things. When concepts and names are applied to things we meet them halfway.⁵⁴ Thus the mind is not purely receptive and the knowing is mediate. In order to know things immediately and intuitively we should not let the mind be bound by concepts and names. Instead we should know things with the spirit. This kind of knowing is called by the skilled butcher Ting as a way "to meet things with spirit" (Ch. 2). It is the same as "to know without knowledge" as we mentioned earlier.

The spirit is vacuous. But just as *Tao*, it is not a sheer nothing. This is because the living power or essence of *Tao* manifests itself there. In this sense the word *shen* is intimately related to *hsing* and *te*. So far as the spiritual function of the mind is concerned, the mind is originally unified with *Tao*.⁵⁵ It is through the interference of man's blind desires that its spiritual power is dimmed in the infinite pursuit of external things. If the spiritual light can be maintained and extended, then man can achieve a self-enlightenment in which the mind is identified with *Tao*. As T'ang Chün-i writes:

Shen is a function of the mind when the mind is permeated with fully living life. *Shen* is always characterized by freedom and spontaneity and is

never contracted and reflexive. When *shen* is extended and meets things with intuitive and sympathetic understanding, we have self-forgetting immediately, and we transcend things which fill our mind. Thus, vacuity of mind can be realized, and enlightenment can be achieved through the very extending of *shen*.⁵⁶

The function of mind as expressed in *shen* is an intellectual and immediate intuition. It can know without concepts and names. Here the freedom has its highest expression because it has achieved a metaphysical vision in "self-forgetting."

"Forgetting" is a very important idea in Taoism. It is one of the evidences that Chuang Tzu and Lao Tzu like to use words paradoxically. Although Chuang Tzu sometimes uses "forgetting" in the ordinary sense, in many places it is used in a special meaning. For example, he talks of how the enlightened man can "forget the years and distinctions" (Ch. 2), "forget language" (Ch. 6), "forget righteousness and benevolence" (Ch. 6), etc. It is clear that in these passages, to forget means to transcend rather than to lose memory. As already indicated in Section One, what the Taoists really appreciate is the realm of Tao, not the realm of nature. Thus by forgetting Chuang Tzu does not mean returning to the primitive state of consciousness or simply losing memory. The man who has achieved enlightenment through extension of *shen* does not simply forget who he is in the ordinary sense. He has no problem to tell us his name, birthplace, and other information in his personal life. What Chuang Tzu means by "self-forgetting" should be understood as transcending all sorts of spiritual bondage, including one's ego and physical appearance. Only when these are forgotten

can man's spirit be released. This is what Chuang Tzu calls "sitting down and forgetting" (Ch. 6). If what is forgotten is not these bondages, but one's spirit, then we have what Chuang Tzu calls "truly forgetting" (Ch. 5). Thus "the fast of mind" in Chapter Four of *Chuang Tzu* is the same as "having no self" (Ch. 1), "losing the self" (Ch. 2), and "sitting down and forgetting" (Ch. 6).⁵⁷

The mind which is free or the first kind of mind which we mentioned before, is also characterized by tranquility (*ching*). Chuang Tzu uses the metaphor of still water (Chs. 4, 13) to explain this kind of mind. Just as water can reflect different things when it is not disturbed, so the mind can receive different things when it is calm. But the tranquility of the enlightened man is not like "dry wood and dead ashes" (Ch. 2). On the contrary, it is "tranquility in disturbance" (Ch. 6). In other words, it is tranquility in activity.⁵⁸ For Chuang Tzu a free man is neither bound by activity nor by tranquility. When he uses tranquility to describe the free spirit, the word "tranquility" is used as a dialectical synthesis of tranquility and activity. That is why a free man need not become a recluse in order to maintain his tranquility.

The mind can be tranquil only when it is vacuous. The tranquility and vacuity of the mind are two aspects of the same state of mind. It is only when the mind is vacuous and tranquil that nothing can disturb it. For a man whose mind is tranquil, life and death no longer bother him. Even "heaven and earth flop up and fall down, it is no loss to him" (Ch. 5). Such a mind is called "the constant mind," which may be compared to the mirror:

The Perfect Man uses his mind like a mirror — going after nothing, welcoming nothing, responding but not storing. Therefore, he can win out over things and not hurt himself (Ch. 7).

The state of the mind which welcomes nothing is also the state of the mind which welcomes all things. Such a mind can accept whatever circumstance and object come its way. Because the mind is vacuous, it can respond to things lively and spontaneously, as it holds the axis of Tao. If anything is restored in the mind, it may become attached and lose its receptivity for new things.

"Vacuity" and "tranquility" were originally used by Lao Tzu to describe the non-active characteristic of Tao. The fact that Chuang Tzu uses them to explain the mind suggests the unity of Tao and the true nature of mind. When the mind becomes vacuous and tranquil, it no longer has emotions. When Chuang Tzu says that the mind can have no emotions, he does not mean that the mind is completely apathetic or lacking in sensibility. What he means is that the mind is no longer "hurt" by emotions (Ch. 5). The word "hurt" is used here to describe the state of the mind, which loses its *shen*, *ling*, *hsü*, *ching* because it is under the slavery of emotions.

5. Freedom as a Political Ideal

In the "inner chapters" Chuang Tzu's main concern is the spiritual freedom of the individual. Since he believes that man can gain spiritual freedom under any social conditions, he has not specifically discussed freedom as a social and political issue. The free man he describes often shows no positive interest in worldly affairs at all. However, if we

examine the book *Chuang Tzu* as a whole, we still can find that freedom has implicitly become a political ideal. This is shown in at least two aspects of his political thought: (1) his view of the ideal society, and (2) the policy of non-action.

The ideal society is described by Chuang Tzu as the one in which "men forget each other in Tao," just as "fish forget each other in rivers and lakes" (Ch. 6). Men can forget each other because they harmoniously live together without any conflict. Such a society can be actualized if people can live according to their inborn nature without any political interference:

The people have their constant nature. To weave for their clothing, to till for their food — this is the Virtue they share. They are one in it and not partisan, and it is called Emancipation of Heaven In such an age mountains have no paths or trails, lakes no boats or bridges. The ten thousand things live species by species, one group settled close to another. Birds and beasts form their flocks and herds, grass and trees grow to fullest height In this age of Perfect Virtue men live the same as birds and beasts, group themselves side by side with the ten thousand things (Ch. 9).

What Chuang Tzu calls "Emancipation of Heaven" refers to a state of radical freedom in the social sense. He thinks that a society is free when man is not alienated from Nature and his fellow beings. However, his ideal society seems very primitive and agriculturally oriented. Here and in many other passages (for example, Ch. 8, Ch. 10, Ch. 11) Chuang Tzu's ideal society seems to reflect his negative attitude toward civilization and

technology. Again and again he proposes to discard wisdom and knowledge, banish righteousness and benevolence, eliminate laws and institutions. In the chapter "Heaven and Earth" an old gardener says that he knows a certain machine may help him to save his labor but he is ashamed of using it. His reason is:

I've heard my teacher say, where there are machines, there are bound to be machine worries; where there are machine worries, there are bound to be machine hearts (*hsin*). With a machine heart in your breast, you've spoiled what was pure and simple; and without the pure and simple, the life of the spirit knows no rest. Where the life of the spirit knows no rest, the Way will cease to buoy you up.

Here, as in many other passages, Chuang Tzu shows an insight in criticizing the danger of industrialization and civilization. But does he want to get rid of the bad effects of science and technology by simply refusing to move forward and returning to the primitive society?

It has to be pointed out here that this question probably cannot be definitely answered. It depends on how we interpret the original text. I think it cannot be denied that in *Chuang Tzu* there is an anti-civilization tendency. But we should also remember that in emphasizing the experience of identifying ourselves with Tao, Chuang Tzu does not really defend primitive consciousness. Judging from this perspective, it is rather unlikely that Chuang Tzu would like to give up all the achievements of civilization for a return to the primitive society. For this reason the gardener mentioned above is criticized later by Confucius:

He is one of those bogus practitioners

of the arts of Mr. Chao's. He knows the first thing but doesn't know the second. He looks after what is on the inside but doesn't look after what is on the outside (Ch. 12).

Thus what Chuang Tzu truly advocates is not the primitive society, for the true man of the Tao can "wander through the everyday world" without losing his simplicity of spirit. A true man need not reject society and its inventions. Based on this interpretation we may say that Chuang Tzu, just like Lao Tzu, holds: "Great civilization looks like primitiveness."⁵⁹

Following Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu also advocates the policy of non-action. For example, he advises the ruler as follows:

Let your mind wander in simplicity, blend your spirit with the vastness, follow along with things the way they are, and make no room for personal views — then the world will be governed. (Ch. 7).

Chuang Tzu tries to indicate two things: (1) the ruler has to cultivate himself before trying to govern the world; (2) the world can be governed by taking the policy of non-action.

According to Chuang Tzu, the best government is the one led by the enlightened sage-king. In other words, a free state has to be based on a leader who has a free spirit. The governing of the sage-king is comparable to the function of Tao:

His achievements blanket the world but appear not his own doing. His transforming influence touches the ten thousand things but the people do not depend on him. With him there is no

promotion or praise — he lets everything find its own enjoyment. He takes his stand on what cannot be fathomed and wanders where there is nothing at all (Ch. 7).

Because the governing of the sage-king is non-active, therefore his achievement cannot be felt by people. That is why Chuang Tzu says that the spiritual man has no achievement and the sage has no name (Ch. 1).

As we have said, by non-action Chuang Tzu does not mean taking no actions at all. It is clear that no man can govern without taking some actions. What he means is to take actions spontaneously so that political problems can be solved in the most effective and yet unnoticed way. For instance, when the sage-king has to use armies and weapons, he would use them reluctantly, and consider calmness and restraint as the best principle.⁶⁰ Through this, "he may overthrow nations but he will not lose the hearts of the people" (Ch. 6).

6. A Critical Review

We have enumerated and explained Chuang Tzu's idea of freedom in terms of five senses. Among them freedom as the experience of identifying oneself with Tao is the most fundamental one. All the other senses are used to elucidate this experience. Without this experience the other four senses of freedom would become theoretically groundless. On the other hand, the experience of identification with Tao would be meaningless to us if it were not elucidated by ideas such as *hsing*, *hsin*, *ming*, *ch'ing*, *wu-wei*, etc. I say "elucidated" rather than objectively explained because ultimately freedom is a

mystical experience which cannot be completely communicated by merely using concepts and words. If Chuang Tzu's mystical vision of freedom is based on a living experience, then it cannot be completely understood unless one himself gets this experience through practice and inner cultivation. In the final analysis Chuang Tzu's philosophical wisdom is no longer a matter of objective knowledge, but a matter of action.

Most people live in the realm of men; they have never had Chuang Tzu's experience in the realm of Tao. He has drawn attention to such an experience to show that all the experiences in the world of men are not sufficient. The authenticity of this experience may be granted, but we still can criticize his view of freedom from an ordinary man's point of view. Theoretically, one of the most obvious problems is that Chuang Tzu has not made a clear distinction between the three stages of experience mentioned in Section One. This defect not only leads to misunderstandings but also makes his thought fall into difficulties. For example, he tries to eliminate all arguments in the following way:

Suppose you and I have an argument. If you have beaten me instead of my beating you, then are you necessarily right and I necessarily wrong? If I have beaten you instead of your beating me, then am I necessarily right and you necessarily wrong? Whom shall we get to decide what is right? Shall we get someone who agrees with you to decide? But if he already agrees with you, how can he decide fairly? Shall we get someone who agrees with me? But if he already agrees with me, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who disagrees with

both of us? If he already disagrees with both of us, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who agrees with both of us? But if he already agrees with both of us, how can he decide? Obviously neither you nor I nor anyone else can know the answer (Ch. 2).

This kind of reasoning is not sufficient to eliminate all arguments, for in arguing a problem we may instead appeal to facts and logical consistency in order to reach an agreement. To say that in having the experience of identity arguments are useless is one thing, to say all arguments are useless is another. We may grant that there is a kind of experience which transcends all possible descriptions and analysis of language, but we cannot deny that clear knowledge and arguments are necessary for philosophizing in the world of men. Sometimes Chuang Tzu fails to express his thought clearly when the ambiguity is not inevitable.

To feel content and peaceful in facing what really cannot be changed is certainly a noble achievement. But it is sometimes hard to decide whether a problem is within our power to change or not. If one's spiritual peace comes from taking what can be changed as what cannot be changed, then his peace would be a sign of ignorance and self-deception rather than spiritual enlightenment. In examining Chuang Tzu's thought, one cannot deny that it sometimes has a too negative attitude toward things and human life.

Chuang Tzu always enjoys "free and easy wandering" as in the "Not-Even-Anything Village," or in "the Field of Broad-and-Boundless." But in emphasizing the realm of Tao too much, he sometimes fails to note that

one's inner freedom can be objectified only in the world of men. In the chapter "Autumn Floods," Chuang Tzu says that he would rather be a living tortoise dragging its tail in the mud than to be a dead tortoise with its bones stored in the temple and worshiped by the people. By this statement Chuang Tzu rejected the offer to be the prime minister. In a sense this shows his high-mindedness and noble character, because he is not interested in gaining high status and fame. But in another sense it may mean that he is not interested in engaging in political activities. To that extent his thought seems to imply a kind of escapism which shows no concern for what happens to the masses.

Preoccupied by elevating an individual's spiritual freedom, Chuang Tzu does not recognize clearly the contribution of human relationship to man's freedom. He sees the conflict between laws, social institutions, and human freedom. But he does not tell us how a society can exist without these laws and institutions. He does not recognize that individual freedom needs certain social conditions in order to be really fulfilled. The importance of a man to another man is not acknowledged by him. Thus Hsun Tzu is certainly right in his criticism that Chuang Tzu is "prejudiced in favor of Heaven and does not know man."

Man is a conditioned and finite being who has a demand for absolute freedom and infinite happiness. Chuang Tzu himself has sharply sensed both aspects of the human situation. But it is questionable whether he himself can completely achieve the absolute freedom he describes. Perhaps part of what he describes remains an ideal, especially to us. Viewed from common experience,

all our freedom or happiness is relative and conditioned. As long as we are bound by everyday experience, Chuang Tzu's absolute freedom seems to be an impossible dream. But when we feel dissatisfied with our everyday experience,

we may find something in our mind responding to Chuang Tzu's thought. To that extent, his thought has broadened our vision and made more room for the wandering of our spirit.

NOTES

32. Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 202.
33. Fung, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 225.
34. Hsü, *History*, p. 375. My translation.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-7.
36. It is also supported by a sentence in Chapter Fourteen: "Inborn nature cannot be changed, fate cannot be altered, time cannot be stopped, the Way [Tao] cannot be obstructed."
37. Hsü points out that this is one difference between the Confucianists and Chuang Tzu. See his *History*, pp. 375-6.
38. Fung, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 149-50.
39. Fung Yu-Lan, *Chung-kuo Che-hsüeh shih hsin-pien* [A History of Chinese Philosophy: The New Edition] (Peiking: People's Press, 1964), pp. 393-6.
40. As I have said, Chuang Tzu's idea of fate is very vague; therefore we cannot give a definite interpretation here. Some of Kuo Hsiang's Commentaries do suggest the denial of free will. For instance, in his commentary on the text in Chapter Six, he says: "When a man is born, insignificant thought he is, he has the properties that he necessarily has. However trivial his life may be, he needs the whole universe to be the condition of his existence. All things in the universe, all that exist, cannot cease to exist without having some effect on him. If one condition is lacking, he may not have existed." Again, in his commentary on Chapter Five, he writes: "We have our life, not because we wish to have it. Within our life, a span of hundred years, sitting, rising, walking, standing, acting, resting, gaining, losing. . . all that we have, all that we have not, all that we do, and all that we meet, are so, not because we want them to be so." See Fung, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 149.
41. See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. II. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
42. *Chuang Tzu*, Ch. 3. Fung's translation.
43. Fung's translation. Watson's translation, "this is called freed from the bonds of God," is wrong.
44. Cf. T'ang Chün-I, *Chung-kuo che-hsueh yuan lun: Yuan hsing p'ien* [An Inquiry into Origins of Chinese Philosophy: The Volume on Human Nature] (Hong Kong: New Asian College, Graduate School, 1968), p. 106.
45. Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 4.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

49. Cf. *Chuang Tzu*, Ch. 18 and Hsu, *History*, p. 392.
50. Fung, *A Short History of Chinese philosophy*, p. 108.
51. *Chuang Tzu*, Ch. 6. Cf. Fung, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 71. Although the meaning of this immortality can hardly be pinned down, it is clear that there is no personal immortality for Chuang Tzu.
52. T'ang Chün-I, "The Individual and the World in Chinese Methodology," in Charles Moore, ed., *The Chinese Mind* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), pp. 272-3.
53. Fung's translation. The word "ch'i" usually means material force. But in this context it is identical with spirit (*shen*). This passage may be understood as the Taoistic *yoga*.
54. Cf. T'ang, "The Individual and the World in Chinese Methodology", p. 272.
55. Hsü, *History*, p. 387.
56. T'ang, "The Individual and the World in Chinese Methodology," p. 273.
57. See Hsü, *History*, p. 398.
58. Fung's interpretation. See his *Chuang Tzu*, p. 137.
59. Fung Yu-Lan's words. See his *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 191.
60. Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, Ch. 31.

Three Interpretations of Mencian Morality in T'ang Times (Part I)

Chun-chieh Huang

(黃俊傑)

"In the wide ocean upon which we venture the possible ways and directions are many; and the same studies which have served for this work might easily, in other hands, not only receive a wholly different treatment and application, but lead also to essentially different conclusions."

Jacob Christoph Burckhardt
(1818-97)

In the gradual rise of the *Mencius* to canonical status, the earliest step to designate the *Mencius* as an official text for the civil service examinations occurred in the T'ang Dynasty (618-907). The *Mencius* captured very little scholarly attention in Han times.¹ Neither the emperors nor the scholar-officials in the Han Dynasty tried to establish the *Mencius* as a permanent avenue to official appointment. Yet attempts of this kind were made in the T'ang Dynasty. In 763 the Minister of Education Yang Wan (d. A.D. 777) suggested to Emperor Tai (r. 763-779) that the *Mencius* be included in the list of required studies for those designated Filial Pious and Incorrupt.² Moreover, in the second lunar month of 863, the "presented scholar" degree holder P'i Jih-hsiu (Ca. 834-883) sub-

mitted a memorial petitioning for the *Mencius* as an official text for the civil service examinations.³ Although none of these suggestions were adopted by the sovereigns, it is clear that Yang and P'i wanted to designate the *Mencius* as a rung on the ladder to success and power.

These two events were not sudden developments. In the historical context, they represented reactions against Taoism and Buddhism that flourished especially in the former half of the T'ang Dynasty. They also reflected the growth of T'ang scholars' interests in Mencian thought. Therefore, these two scholar-officials' suggestions to the throne represented two tributaries of an intellectual current regarding the interpretation of the *Mencius* in T'ang times.

Along with this widening intellectual

current, some scholars wrote commentaries or expositions on the *Mencius*. Lu Shan-ching (date unknown),⁴ Chang Yi (?-873)⁵ and Ting Kung-chu (759-822)⁶ each wrote a commentary on the *Mencius*. Yet only a few remnants of them are preserved while the whole texts have been long lost. It is impossible to make sound judgment on the basis of these few remnants of commentaries. However, other scholar-officials in this era such as Han Yü (768-824), P'i Jih-hsiu and Lin Shen-ssu 41. 8697 interpreted Mencian thought in their corpora or treatises. Although they did not produce commentaries on the *Mencius* in a traditional form, they exposed Mencian morality in such a way as to convey T'ang scholarly perceptions of Mencian morality. Thus, we shall concentrate our discussion in this article on these three personages.

With regard to these three scholar-officials' representations of Mencius in T'ang times, I address myself to the following questions: In what intellectual context did the T'ang scholars interpret Mencian morality? How did Han Yü, P'i Jih-hsiu and Lin Shen-ssu elucidate the *Mencius*? To what extent did their expositions of Mencius reveal their roles in the T'ang history?

I. THE *MENCIUS* IN THE T'ANG INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

The Flourishing of Taoism

Since the *Mencius* was read by T'ang scholars in the historical and intellectual context of their era, we shall examine two dominant intellectual phenomena in the T'ang Dynasty before we proceed to look at what the *Mencius* meant to them. First, the most striking phenomenon was the flourishing of

Taoism as religious faith and as statecraft.⁷ As early as 618 when the T'ang Empire was founded, the throne summoned many Taoist and Buddhist monks to perform sacrificial ceremonies in the palace.⁸ The T'ang ruling house bore the surname Li (李) which happened to be the same as that of Lao Tzu (Li Erh, 6th or 4th Cent. B.C.), the primogenitor of classical Taoism. For this reason, the T'ang House claimed to descend from Lao Tzu and, therefore, treated Taoism with special favoritism.⁹ Emperor Kao-tsu's (高祖, r. 618-26) favorable attitude toward Taoism was best expressed in 625 when he proclaimed an edict setting the order of precedence of the "three religions": Taoism first; Confucianism second; and Buddhism last.¹⁰ There was a growing interest and respect for Taoism throughout the seventh century. In 666, Emperor Kao-tsung (高宗, r. 650-84) bestowed on Lao Tzu the honorable title: "Most High Emperor of Mystic Origin" (*T'ai-shang Hsüan-yüan huang-ti* 太上玄元皇帝).¹¹ In 678, the Taoist classic *The Way and Its Power* (*Tao-te ching* 道德經), presumably written by Lao Tzu, became the "upper classic" for the civil service examinations.¹² There were political reasons for the imperial patronage of Taoism. In converting his state into a Taoist state, the T'ang emperor drew his people's attention from politics to the world of naturalness. Furthermore, by claiming to have descended from Lao Tzu, the T'ang emperor was able to legitimize his regime on a firm basis. From its patronage of Taoism, the T'ang ruling house gained tremendous profits.

On account of this, Taoism as state ideology and philosophy reached the peak of popularity in the eighth century, especially during Emperor Hsüan-tsung's (玄宗, r. 713-56) reign.¹³ The *Tao-te*

ching gained additional importance after 732 when more questions on Lao Tzu were set for the civil service examinations and the emperor ordered that a copy of the *Tao-te ching* be kept in every household.¹⁴ An event of greater significance took place in the next year (733) when Emperor Hsüan-tsung wrote a commentary on the *Tao-te ching* and ordered that all scholars study it.¹⁵ Along with the imperial patronage of Taoism, a "School for the Exaltation of Taoism" (*Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh* 崇玄學) was established and Erudites of Taoism were appointed in 737.¹⁶ Four years later (741), the Emperor examined those who were versed in the *Tao-te ching*, the *Chuang Tzu*, the *Lieh Tzu* and *Wen Tzu* (文子) and appointed them to official posts.¹⁷ There were ebbs of imperial support for Taoism and in 754 the *Tao-te ching* was replaced by the *Book of Changes* (*I-ching* 易經) as the official text for examination.¹⁸ But Taoism was the most favored religion throughout Emperor Hsüan-tsung's reign. That this was the case can be confirmed in the changing titles of Lao Tzu. In 743, the Emperor bestowed upon Lao Tzu the title of "Great Sage Ancestor" (*Ta sheng-tsu* 大聖祖) which was later changed to the "Sage Ancestor and Great Way Emperor of Mystic Origin" (*Sheng-tsu ta-tao hsüan-yüan huang-ti* 聖祖大道玄元皇帝) in 749 and finally as the "Great Sage Ancestor and Most High Great Way Golden Palace Great Heavenly Emperor of Mystic Origin" (*Ta sheng-tsu kao-shang ta-tao chin-ch'üeh hsüan-yüan tien-huang ta-ti* 大聖祖高上大道金闕玄元天皇大帝) in 754.¹⁹

Down to the ninth century, although imperial patronage of Taoism began to decline, a few Taoists were still capable of exerting influence upon politics. For

example, in 828, four hundred Taoist monks were invited to discuss the Taoist doctrines with the emperor.²⁰ A Taoist named Chao Kuei-chen (趙歸真, ?-846) became a close friend of Emperor Wutsung (武宗, r. 840-46) and had considerable influence on court politics.²¹

The Spread of Buddhism

The second phenomenon that deserves attention is the spread of Buddhism. Having been remolded by indigenous Chinese thought in what A. F. Wright (1913-1976) calls the "period of domestication,"²² Buddhism in the T'ang Dynasty became increasingly congenial to the Chinese soil and was one of the leading faiths of the Chinese people. In the course of growth of Buddhism in the T'ang Dynasty, many Buddhist sects such as *T'ien-t'ai* (天台), *Fa-hsiang* (法相), *Hua-yen* (華嚴), Pure Land (*Ching-tu* 淨土) and *Ch'an* (禪) schools were developed.

In the early years of the T'ang Dynasty, the development of Buddhism was largely due to the imperial patronage. Emperor T'ai-tsung (太宗, r. 626-49) warmly welcomed Hsüan-chuang (玄奘, 596-664) upon his return from a pilgrimage to India in 645.²³ In 691, Empress Wu decreed that Buddhism be elevated above Taoism and that Buddhist monks and nuns stand before the Taoist monks in imperial meetings.²⁴ In such an atmosphere, the supposed Buddha's relic was displayed and worshiped in the imperial palace in the years 757, 788, 790, 872 and 873.²⁵ Although there were always political ends in the imperial patronage of Buddhism,²⁶ imperial support did help disseminate Buddhist faith in China. As observed by a ninth-century Confucian scholar Shen Yeh-chih (沈業之, fl. 815),²⁷ Confucianism and Taoism at his time

were in eclipse and could not match Buddhism in their influence on society. The major reason for imperial support for Buddhism lies in the Buddhist concern with other-worldly affairs. From the Emperor's point of view, the Buddhist teachings of *nirvana* drew the people's attention to the next life and thereby reduced the possibilities of dissent and revolt, although the Buddhist teachings were also occasionally manipulated by seditious organizations to advance their pretension.

As a dominant faith, Buddhism played a very important role in socio-economic activities. Because of a variety of religious, political, social and economic reasons many Buddhist monasteries were established during the Period of Disunion and rapidly developed in the T'ang Dynasty. As Buddhism flourished, monasteries increased in number and acquired large amounts of land and property. One source exaggerated the situation in the early half of the eighth century as follows: "Of all the empire's wealth, the Buddhists own seventy to eighty per cent."²⁸ In addition to providing inns for travellers, the T'ang Buddhist monasteries were also involved in commercial activities such as pawnbroking and lending of money or goods, and in industrial enterprises such as milling grain or manufacture of oil.²⁹ With economic power, the T'ang Buddhist monasteries became capable of competing with the nobility, landlords and even the monarch. A contemporary scholar estimates that over one-third of the households and five-sixths of China's population avoided taxation and conscription through seeking shelter under the monasteries on the eve of An Lu-shan rebellion (755-752).³⁰ An estimation, such as this is likely a gross exaggeration, yet it indicates the predominant influence

of Buddhism upon the socio-economic activities of the state. These were the economic reasons why Emperor Wu-tsung suppressed Buddhism in 845.³¹

The most immediate problem resulting from the spread of Buddhism was its conflict with the Chinese ethical value of filial piety, the fundamental value of Chinese society. The Buddhist teachings such as leaving one's home, shaving one's head, not getting married were all regarded by the Chinese as contradictory to their Confucian value of filial piety.³² Such a charge was made as early as 624 when Fu I (傅奕, 555-639) submitted a memorial petitioning for elimination of Buddhism, for it was "a religion without father" (*wu-fu chih chiao* 無父之教).³³ The conflict between Buddhism and the Confucian value of filial piety led many Confucian scholars to believe that China was in an ethical crisis. Such a sense of crisis was an essential aspect of the intellectual background for their interest in the *Mencius*.

The Development of Confucianism

Our description in the preceding paragraphs should not be taken to mean that Confucianism died in the T'ang Dynasty. On the contrary, Confucianism still captured many scholars' attention. During the Period of Disunion, Confucian scholars in the North and the South developed their own interpretations of the classics.³⁴ The Confucian scholar-officials of the time, such as Yen Chih-t'ui (顏之推, 531-591), successfully incorporated Buddhist elements into their Confucian beliefs.³⁵ Emperor Wen-ti (文帝, r. 581-604) of the Sui Dynasty (581-618) appointed many Confucian scholars to the prefectures and counties to provide Confucian instruction. But

toward the latter part of his reign, Emperor Wen reduced his support of Confucianism and this policy was reversed by Emperor Yang-ti (楊帝, r. 604-617). Toward the end of the Sui Dynasty, a Confucian scholar Wang T'ung (王通, also known as Wen Chung-tzu 文中子, 584-617) contributed significantly to the development of Confucianism in the early T'ang Dynasty.³⁷ Wang T'ung wrote six books, which were referred to as the *Six Classics of Mr. Wang* (Wang-shih liu-ching 王氏六經), offering a new reinterpretation of the cardinal doctrines of Confucianism.

The reunification of China in 618 under the T'ang signifies a new stage in the development of Confucianism. The interpretations of the Confucian classics propounded by scholars in preceding times, especially in the Period of Disunion, were unified in the corpus of the *Correct Meanings of the Five Classics* (Wu-ching cheng-yi 五經正義, completed in 638) edited by K'ung Ying-ta (孔穎達, 547-648), Yen Shih-ku (顏師古, 581-645) and others under the auspices of Emperor T'ai-tsung.³⁸ This famous corpus reveals many outstanding characteristics of Confucianism in T'ang times. Among them, the most notable was the infiltration of Taoism into Confucianism. Inasmuch as the *cheng-yi* was intended to be an amalgamation of various interpretations and schools of thought in the Period of Disunion, it incorporated many Taoist elements in it. For example, K'ung Ying-ta interpreted the concept of "Way" (tao 道) in the *Book of Changes* as "nothingness" (wu 無). This reveals the intrusion of Taoism into Confucian studies. Moreover, the interpretation of such Confucian concepts as "human nature" (hsing 性), "feelings" (ch'ing 情) and "Lord of Heaven" (t'ien-ti

天帝) in the *cheng-yi* all show this same intellectual tendency.³⁹

The predilection of dominant Confucian scholars in this era also confirmed this inclination. Lu Te-ming (陸德明, 556-627), for example, was "versed in metaphysical principles (i.e., Taoism)."⁴⁰ Lu's *Explanation of Terms in the Classics* (Ching-tien shih-wen 經典釋文) dealt with not only the Confucian classics such as *Book of Changes*, *Old Text of the Book of History*, *Mao's Commentary on the Book of Odes*, *Book of Rites*, *Institute of Chou*, *Book of Rituals*, *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Book of Filial Piety*, *Analects* and *Erh Ya*, but also the *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*. Lu included the Taoist texts in the category of "classics". He also wrote commentary on the *Lao Tzu*.⁴¹ Moreover, the *Old T'ang History* (Chiu T'ang-shu 舊唐書) tells us that Chia Kung-yen (賈公彥, fl. 650-55) was also familiar with the thought of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu.⁴² To sum up, in the days when Taoism flourished, many Confucian scholars were influenced by Taoist thought.

Since the *cheng-yi* was designated as the official text for the civil service examinations, the commentaries made by the Taoist-inclined scholars in the Period of Disunion were all preserved and thus continued to exercise influence upon T'ang scholars. In addition, the *cheng-yi* followed the rule of Confucian exegetical scholarship, namely, that the sub-commentaries should not contradict the commentaries. Therefore, the sub-commentaries written by T'ang scholars were accordingly under the influence of their predecessors in the Period of Disunion.

In the eyes of some Confucian scholars, such a situation was not tolerable. Therefore, there emerged a revolt

against the *Wu-ching cheng-yi* orthodoxy in the eighth century. Liu Chin-chi's (劉知幾, 661-721) criticism of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Book of History* marked the rise of the scholarly trend which was continued by T'an Chu (啖助, 725-70), Chao K'uang (趙匡) and Lu Ch'un (陸淳, 744-809). In criticizing the *cheng-yi* orthodoxy, these mid-T'ang Confucian scholars intended to move from the Taoist concern with self to an emphasis upon social effects of learning and statecraft.⁴³ Such a social concern was also manifested in those who were associated with the classical-prose movement such as Li Hua, Liu Chih, Hsiao Ying-shih, and, of course, Han Yü.⁴⁴

Han Yü, P'i Jih-hsiu and Lin Shen-ssu all lived in the days when Taoism infiltrated into Confucianism and Buddhism flourished in China. In varying degrees, they all experienced the sense of crisis, crisis concerning the decline and confusion of Confucianism as a system of thought. In their perceptions, the most serious issue of their age was to retain the purity of Confucianism against the intrusion of Taoism and Buddhism. Needless to say, Han Yü's famous "Memorial on the Bone of Buddha"⁴⁵ was an emphatic rejection of Buddhist faith. P'i Jih-hsiu also lamented the overriding influence of Buddhism at the expense of Confucianism.⁴⁶ Moreover, Lin Shen-ssu, in his preface to his *An Explanation of the Concealed*, stated that his book entitled *Paradigm of Confucianism* (*Ju-fan* 儒範) was cast aside by his contemporaries and, therefore, he had "failed in fishing for reputation."⁴⁷ Thus, they all aimed to develop systems of thought to cope with the influence of Taoism and Buddhism. It should be noted, however, that in the eyes of these

three scholar-officials, what could not be tolerated was the Buddhist-and-Taoist interest in other — worldly affairs and nihilism, and their neglect of suffering in the present world. As Confucian scholars, Han, P'i and Lin all developed a strong commitment to society. They all saw social involvement as the outer manifestation of one's inner moral cultivation. In calling for a return to this Confucian value, they found the *Mencius* appealing to their cause.

Thus, the significance of the *Mencius* in the T'ang intellectual context was two-fold: a bulwark in the battle to uphold or defend Confucian orthodox thought; and a resource reflecting or justifying their concern for the suffering of the present world.

II. HAN YÜ'S ELEVATION OF MENCIUS

Han Yü is remembered, more often than not, as a writer or a prose stylist,⁴⁸ yet his role as a Confucian thinker is of equal significance. As has been pointed out,⁴⁹ Han Yü's place in his age appeared to be a traditionalist and at the same time a nonconformist. He was a traditionalist in the sense that he continued the classical Confucian tradition as he understood it. He was also a non-conformist because he dissented from the prevailing Taoist and Buddhist values. His uncompromising attack on Taoism and Buddhism was largely because of his opposition to their negative influence on socio-economic aspects of society.⁵⁰ Han Yü called especially his contemporaries' attention to Mencius, among the classical Confucian philosophers. An examination of Han Yü's discussion of Mencian moral concepts best begins with a scrutiny of his perception of Mencius' place in the

Confucian tradition.

Han Yü's Image of Mencius

In his corpus, Han Yü refers frequently to Mencius. Although he did not produce a commentary on the *Mencius*, such references illustrate his image of Mencius. First, Han Yü held Mencius in high esteem as the successor of Confucius in the orthodox line of transmission of the Way. To illustrate Han Yü's point in this regard, we should begin with his redefinition of the concept of the "Way". As he remarked in his famous essay "An Inquiry on the Way":⁵¹

To love universally is called benevolence (*jen* 仁); to apply this in a proper manner is called righteousness (*i* 義). The operation of these is the Way (*tao* 道) . . . What Way is this? It is what I call the Way, and not what the Taoists and Buddhists call the Way What should be done now? I say that unless (Taoism and Buddhism) are suppressed, the Way will not prevail; unless these men are stopped, the Way will not be practiced.

In this context, Han Yü obviously reinterpreted the Confucian concept of "benevolence" as a social ethic and presented the Confucian "way" as a counter system to Taoism and Buddhism. Han Yü experienced the intellectual as well as ethical crisis caused by Taoism and Buddhism, and, therefore, clarified Confucianism in the historical context of his age; thus, his definition varied from that of his predecessor Chao Ch'i.

With such a new concept of the Confucian Way, Han Yü reconstructed the orthodox line transmission of the Confucian Way from antiquity to his time:⁵²

Yao taught it to Shun, Shun to Yü, Yü to T'ang, and T'ang to Kings Wen and Wu and the Duke of Chou. These men taught it to Confucius and Confucius to Mencius, but when Mencius died it was no longer handed down.

Retrospectively, Han Yü observed that all the interpretations of Confucianism since the unification of China in 221 B.C. were far removed from the "genuine" teachings of Confucius. As he states:⁵³

In the time of Ch'in's book burning, the Taoism of the Han, and the Buddhism of the Wei, the Chin, the Liang, and the Sui, when men spoke of the Way and power, of benevolence and righteousness, they were approaching them either as followers of Yang Chu or of Mo Tzu, of Lao Tzu or of Buddha. Being followers of these doctrines, they naturally rejected Confucianism.

He also indicated that Hsün Tzu (fl. 298-238 B.C.), the last Confucian philosopher in the pre-Ch'in era and Yang Hsiung (53 B.C. — A.D. 187) of the Former Han understood only some elements but not the entirety of this orthodox Way.⁵⁴ Along this line, Mencius was conceived by Han Yü as the legitimate successor of Confucius to convey the Confucian Way.

The second outstanding aspect of Han Yü's image of Mencius is concerned with the intellectual origins of Mencius' thought. According to Han Yü, after the death of Confucius, Confucius' disciples comprehended only parts of the Way of Confucius. However, among them, it was Tseng Tzu who grasped the "essence" of Confucius' teaching. Han Yü indicated further that Mencius learned from Tzu

Ssu whose thought stemmed from Tseng Tzu.⁵⁵ In terms of the intellectual predecessors of Mencius, the line of transmission was as follows: Confucius — Tseng Tzu — Tzu Ssu — Mencius.

In a historical perspective, Han Yü's image of Mencius as a historical personage and as a Confucian thinker was very significant. Most notable is that it signifies the intellectual transition from the image of *Chou-K'ung* (the Duke of Chou and Confucius) in Han times to that of *K'ung-Meng* (Confucius and Mencius) in the Sung era. The frequent occurrences of the term *Chou-K'ung* in the Han texts reveal that the Han scholars paralleled the Duke with Confucius.⁵⁶ This tradition generally continued to prevail among T'ang scholars. For example, P'i Jih-hsiu once argued, "the moral influence was . . . established by Confucius and the Duke of Chou."⁵⁷ Lin Shen-ssu named Confucius as successor to the Duke who transmitted the Way created by the ancient legendary emperors.⁵⁸ In Sung times, however, the term *K'ung-Meng* became prevalent in scholarly writings.⁵⁹ The historical significance of the shift from the Han image of *Chou-K'ung* to the Sung perception of *K'ung-Meng* lies in the change of scholars' attention in these two periods. The Duke of Chou was basically regarded as a figure of remarkable political achievements. In visualizing Confucius as a successor to the Duke, the Han and T'ang scholars were preoccupied with their concern for political life. Since Confucius was a teacher and a philosopher, the Sung image of *K'ung-Meng* stands as a symbol of attention directed to philosophical speculation. In elevating Mencius as the successor to Confucius, Han Yü established a new tradition in which the *Mencius* was read in a philosophical perspective. This tradition was

inherited by almost every school of the Sung Neo-Confucianists, especially that created by Chu Hsi. Because of his elevation of Mencius, Han Yü was eulogized by the Sung authors of the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty* (*Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書): "In his destroying of confusion and restoring of orthodoxy, he equals Mencius in merit and doubles him in energy."⁶⁰

Han Yü's image of Mencius marked a turning point in another way, namely, from the intellectual world predicated on the *Five Classics* to that of the *Four Books*. As we noted earlier, a revolt against the *Wu-ching cheng-yi* orthodoxy occurred in the eighth century. As a thinker, Han Yü was deeply rooted in this intellectual current, a current that aimed at departing from the exegetical tradition developed by scholars in the Period of Disunion and establishing a new philosophical interpretation of the classics.⁶¹ Such an attitude toward Confucian studies was best expressed by Han Yü himself in his poem written for his friend Lu T'ung (盧仝, ?-835):⁶²

Shelving the three commentaries of the
Spring and Autumn Annals,
 I investigate thoroughly the meaning of
 the surviving classics.

In departing from the *Wu-ching cheng-yi* exegetical tradition, Han Yü developed his own way of interpreting the Confucian classics. Such a new way of studying Confucianism, together with his formulation of the transition of Confucian thought from Confucius to Tseng Tzu to Tzu Ssu and finally to Mencius, paved the way for the assemblage of the *Four Books* in Sung times. Han's stress upon the doctrine of "rectifying the heart and being sincere in one's thought"⁶³

in the *Book of Rites* antedated Chu Hsi's interpretation of the *Four Books* in terms of the thought in the *Great Learning*. It is in this regard, among other things, that Han Yü became a precursor of the Sung Neo-Confucianism.

It should be noted, however, that both transitions — from *Chou-K'ung* to *K'ung-Meng* and from the *Five Classics* to the *Four Books* — were made possible by an emphasis upon the philosophical perspective on Confucianism. This remark leads us to a consideration of Han Yü's interpretation of the Mencian morality.

Han's Interpretation of Mencian Morality

We shall first survey Han Yü's representation of two fundamental moral concepts in Mencius' system of thought, namely, benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, Mencius was a deontologist and was more concerned with moral autonomy than the practical effect of moral cultivation. However, in explaining the implications of benevolence and righteousness as moral concepts, Mencius always referred to particular behavior rather than to universal principles. As Mencius states:⁶⁴

The content of benevolence is the serving of one's parents; the content of righteousness is obedience to one's elder brother.

In Han Yü's representation, however, these two moral concepts were conceived in a universal perspective and became universally valid principles. As Han Yü remarked:⁶⁵

To love universally is called benevolence; to apply this in a proper

manner is called righteousness.

While Mencius propounded the concepts of benevolence and righteousness as family ethics, Han Yü conceived of them as universal social norms to be held by mankind. In this way, he laid stress on the philosophical aspects of Mencius and his thought would be important in the general universalization process so common in Southern Sung times.

Such an emphasis was necessary for the task Han Yü assigned to himself, i.e., to expel the influence of Buddhism and Taoism. Inasmuch as the attractiveness of Buddhism and Taoism to the Chinese lay in their religious and philosophical aspects, one who sought to present Mencius as a counter thinker of these two religions had to stress the philosophical aspect of Mencius. It was on the philosophical ground, and against Buddhism and Taoism, that Han Yü characterized Mencius as a protector of Confucian values.

Another element in Mencian morality on which Han Yü offered his interpretation is the concept of human nature. That goodness is intrinsic to man is the fundamental presupposition of Mencius. However, Han Yü did not subscribe to this Mencian doctrine *in toto* when he interpreted it. In his essay "An Inquiry on Human Nature," Han Yü remarked:⁶⁷

The nature of men comes into existence with birth, whereas the feelings are produced when there is contact with external things. There are three grades of human nature, and what constitutes that nature are five.

Han's distinction between human nature and feelings is similar to that made by Chao Ch'i. However, unlike his predecessor, Han Yü went further to criticize

the incompleteness of Mencius' argument. As he maintained:⁶⁸

In discussing human nature, Mencius said, 'Man's nature is good.' . . . Now to say that nature is good at first but subsequently becomes evil . . . is to mention only the medium grade and leave the superior and inferior grades out of account and to take care of one case but to lose sight of the other two.

Han Yü's reservation regarding the Mencian theory of human nature synthesizes the theories of human nature as developed by pre-Ch'in and Han philosophers.⁶⁹ As he stated, his discussion of human nature was to offer a counter theory against Buddhism and Taoism:⁷⁰

Those who talk about human nature today have confused their theories with Buddhism and Taoism. How can they speak without being different from me?

In order to refute the Buddhist and Taoist theories, Han Yü had to develop a more sophisticated theory that covered all aspects of the issue. The corollary, therefore, was that Han Yü's vision of human nature was more complex than that of Mencius.

The Historical Significance

Han Yü's high praise of Mencius was significant in that he was the first scholar since Chao Ch'i to place so much emphasis on Mencius. Chao Ch'i saw the *Analects* as fundamental to a thorough understanding of the *Five Classics* and the Six Arts; he also regarded the *Mencius* as a continuation of the *Analects*. Han Yü's perception of the place of Mencius in the Confucian tradition was similar to that of Chao Ch'i. Historically, however, Han was more important than Chao Ch'i because Han lived in an age when Taoism and Buddhism had spread over China. His evaluation of Mencius foretold the rise of the *Mencius* in Sung times.

Moreover, Han Yü's interpretation of the transition of Confucian thought from Confucius to Tseng Tzu to Tzu Ssu and ultimately to Mencius was inherited by Chu Hsi and laid the philosophical foundation for the assemblage of the *Four Books*.

In conclusion, Han Yü ended the scholarly trend in the Period of Disunion and the early T'ang Dynasty and signified the beginning of a new tradition in which the *Mencius* was read in a philosophical perspective.

NOTES

1. See my "The Rise of the *Mencius*: Historical Interpretations of Mencian Morality, ca. A.D. 200-1200," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 1980, Chap. 2. Hereafter as "The Rise of the *Mencius*."
2. Wang P'u, *T'ang Hui-yao* (*Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien* edition), Vol. 76, "Hsiao-lien chü," p. 1396, Hereafter *THY*.
3. *THY*, Vol. 77, "Kung-chü hsia," p. 1402.
4. Lu Shan-ching, *Meng Tzu Lu-shih chü*, in Ma Kuo-han ed., *Yü-han shan-fang chi yi-shu*, (Ch'ang-sha: Lang-huan Kuan, 1883), Vol. 48, pp. 1a-3a.
5. Chang Yi, *Meng Tzu Chang-shih yin-yi*, in Ma, *op. cit.*, Vol. 48, pp. 1a-13a.

6. Ting Kung-chu, *Meng Tzu Ting-shih sho-yi*, in Ma, *op. cit.*, Vol. 48, pp. 1a-30b.
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20. Chang Chun-liu, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
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32. For a judicious analysis of this issue, see Michihata Ryoshu, tr., Shih Hui-yü, *Fo-chiao yü ju-chia lun-li* (Taipei: Chung hua fo-chiao wen-hsien pien-chuan she, 1972, 1977), passim, esp. pp. 23-25. See also Michihata Ryoshu, *Todai bukkyoshi no kenkyu* (Kyoto: Horokan, 1957), Ch. 3.
33. *THY*, Vol. 47 "Yi shih-chiao shan," pp. 835-6. In order to cope with this charge, the Buddhists employed three methods: (a) they pointed out the numerous sutras in the Buddhist canon which stress filial piety; (b) they forged a body of apocryphal literature which emphasized filial piety as its central theme; and (c) they contended that the Buddhist concept of filial piety was superior to that of the Confucians in that it aimed at universal salvation while Confucian piety was limited to just one family. For a discussion on this issue, see Michihata, Shih Hui-yü tr., *op. cit.*, pp. 29-52; Kenneth Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), Ch. I, esp. pp. 18-9.
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37. Cf. Howard J. Wechsler, "The Confucian Teacher Wang T'ung (584?-671): One Thousand Years of Controversy," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. LXIII, 4-5 (1977), pp. 225-272.
38. *THY*, Vol. 77, "Lun ching-yi," p. 1405; *CTS*, Vol. 189a, pp. 2b-3a. The revision of the *Wu-ching cheng-yi* was completed by Chang-sun wu-chi (長孫無忌, ?-659) and others in 651. P'i Hsi-jui characterizes the T'ang Dynasty as the "Age of Unification of Classical Learnings." For a treatment of Confucian studies in this era, see P'i's *Ching-hsüeh li-shih*, pp. 41a-47b.
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41. *Ibid.*, p. 4b.
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- see also Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Taoism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755-885," in A.F. Wright ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 77-114, esp. pp. 88-90.
44. Pulleyblank, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
 45. For an English translation of this memorial, see Wm. Theodore de Bary et al. trs., *Sources*. Vol. I, pp. 372-74.
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 47. See Lin Shen-ssu, *Shen meng tzu* (*Chih pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* edition), "Preface," p. lb.
 48. Accounts of Han Yü as a writer are of great number. For a discussion of Han's place in the history of Chinese literature, see e.g. Diana Yu-shih Chen Mei, "Han Yü as a Ku-wen Stylist," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1967.
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 50. See Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Lun Han Yü," *Li-shih yen-chiu*, no. 20 (1954), pp. 105-114, esp. p. 109.
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 52. de Bary, *Sources*, p. 379.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 376.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 379. See also Han Yü, "Tu Hsün," in *Wen-chi*, p. 100.
 55. Han Yü, *Wen-chi*, Vol. 20, "Sung Wang hsiu-ts'ai shu," p. 158a-b.
 56. For examples of occurrences of *Chou-K'ung* in the Han texts, see my "The Rise of the *Mencius*," Chapter Two.
 57. P'i Jih-hsiu, "Yüan hua," in his *Wen-sou*, p. 23. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. is wrong when he translates the phrase "ting-yü Chou K'ung," (定於周孔) into "and established in the era of Confucius during the Chou Dynasty." See his *P'i Jih-hsiu* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), p. 63.
 58. Lin Shen-ssu, *Shen meng tzu*, Vol. II, p. 2a.
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 63. *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, "Yüan tao," p. 96a-b; de Bary, *Sources*, p. 378.
 64. Lau tr., *Mencius* (Penguin Classics, 1979), p. 127.
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 67. Wing-tsit Chan tr. and Comp., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, 1973), p. 451. Hereafter as *Source Book*.
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The Concept of Man in Early China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969); see also my review of Munro's book in the *Ssu yü yen*, 10:5 (Jan. 1973), pp. 52-55. For a recent account of this issue, see Itano Chohachi, *Chugoku kodai ni okeru ningankan no tenkai* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoden, 1972).

70. Han Yü's discussion of human nature was to offer a counter theory against these two religions: "Those who talk about human nature today have confused their theories with Buddhism and Taoism. How can they speak without being different from me?" See Chan, *Source Book*, p. 543.



Cultural Activities

In the Republic of China

First Asian Theater Festival and Conference

The First Asian Theater Festival and Conference was held in Taipei from March 9 to 17, 1982.

Over 120 people, including representatives from Hongkong, India, Japan, Korea, the Philippines and the Republic of China (host country), took part in the festival and attended the conference.

The purpose of the festival and conference was to promote the development of theatrical arts in Asia. Besides academic discussions, workshops were also presented to foster more substantial understanding. A number of performances were staged by Zuni Icosahedron Theater from Hongkong, Cho-Hyeng Theater from Korea, Gantimpala Theater from the Philippines, and Lan Ling Theater Workshop from the ROC.

Participants in the festival decided to set up a planning committee for the Second Asian Theater Festival and Conference which is scheduled to take place in Manila in July 1983. Mr. Hsu Po-yun, director of the New Aspect Promotion Corporation of the ROC, was elected chairman of the committee.

Countries and areas in the Asian region including Australia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Hongkong, and the ROC will be invited to

attend next year's festival which will cover traditional, modern, and experimental drama.

Golden Bell Awards

The Golden Bell Awards presentation ceremony 1982 for television and broadcasting industries was held at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (Taipei) on the night of March 13. The gala was attended by some 3,000 people, including government officials and television and broadcasting workers at home and from Hongkong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and the USA.

The ceremony was televised all over Taiwan. Performances by talented singers and dancers both from Taiwan and overseas were staged to bring more fun to a three-hour program.

Korean Lacquer Show

An exhibition of Korean lacquer ware was held at the National Museum of History in mid-March to promote Sino-Korean cultural exchanges.

The display exhibited some forty pieces of fine works, all of which are delicate and elegant, showing the quintessence of Oriental culture.

Korean Cultural and Art Exhibition

A Korean Cultural and Art Exhibition was held from March 27 to April 6 at

the Chung Cheng Cultural Center in Kaohsiung City.

On display were photographs and pictures of Korean landscape and scenic spots, antiques, ceramics, and various kinds of handicrafts.

The display was aimed at promoting understanding and cultural exchanges between the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China.

Symposium on Chinese Music

A three-day symposium to study the past traditions and future prospects of Chinese music opened at the Broadcasting Corporation of China on April 16. The symposium was attended by experts and scholars in the fields of music and literature.

Three speeches were delivered at the symposium by famed Chinese composers Hsu Chang-hui: "My Experience in Music Creation," Li Tan-kuei: "Rhythm of Chinese Music and Its Relations to Language," and Tseng Yung-yi: "Rhythm and Musicality of Old Chinese," respectively. Lectures on the following topics were also given: "Ways to Fit Four Tones of Chinese Language into Music" by Lee Chen-pang, "Musical Accompaniment of Chinese Art Songs" by Lee Sheng-yi, and "Possible Connections among Kun Opera, Chinese Opera, and Chinese Art Music" by Yu Chang-fa.

In the Kingdom of Thailand

Calendar of Major Events in Bangkok Rattanakosin Bicentennial Celebrations

Location	Date	Events
1. Grand Palace	Apr. 4	— Merit making ceremony in Homage to Royal Ancestors
	Apr. 7	— Royal Homage-paying Ceremony

Variety Performances by Foreign Students in Taipei

Foreign students in Taipei staged art performances on April 18 at the Collegiate Activity Center.

Organized and presented by youths from France, Haiti, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, the USA, etc., the performances included "Little United Nations," "Shaolin Boxing," "Monkey Boxing," Chinese drum and ballet performances, flute and violin solos, and modern dance.

The event proved to be a big success which attracted and thrilled a full-house audience.

China Cultural University Celebrations

In celebration of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of China Cultural University, its students launched a great variety of activities. Highlights included: academic seminars and symposiums, art exhibitions, science and technology exhibitions, musical concerts, fashion shows and speech contests. There were also "Culture Night," "Tourism Night," "Chinese Opera Night," performances by the varsity symphony orchestra in the major cities of Taiwan, and two stage plays — William Shakespeare's "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and Nikolai Gogol's "The Inspector General 1836" by students of the Drama Department.

		to the Phra Siam Devathirat (Guardian Angel of the Nation)
	Apr. 7	— Celebration of the Royal Paraphernalia
	Apr. 7 – 21	— Public homage paying to the Phra Siam Devathirat (Guardian Angel of the Nation)
2. Temple of the Emerald Buddha	Apr. 5	— Cho Fah-raising Ceremony and Celebrations of the Emerald Buddha
		— Royal Homage-paying Ceremony
		— to the Royal Ancestors at the Royal Pantheon
3. Sanam Luang	Apr. 4 – 6	— Thai traditional musical performance by 209 musicians
	Apr. 4 – 7	— Thai Classical Dance by 200 performers
		— Khon or Masked Play (Ramakien, the Thai version of the Ramayana) by 2,000 performers.
	Apr. 5 – 7	— International Musical performance by 209 musicians
	Apr. 5	— Royal Ceremony of proclaiming King Rama I "The Great"
	Apr. 11	— Floral Float Procession, from Royal Plaza-Ta Tien-Sanam Luang
		— Display of Floral Floats
	Apr. 12	— Phra Buddha Sihing Procession, from National Museum-Vasukri landing site-Memorial Bridge-Wong Wian Yai-Sanam Luang
	Apr. 13	— Public homage paying to Phra Buddha Sihing and Celebration of Water Festival (Songkran)
	Apr. 21	— Celebration, entertainment and historical display of City Pillar, at the corner of Sanam Luang
4. Rama I Memorial	Apr. 6	— Royal Homage paying ceremony at the Rama I Memorial
	Apr. 8 – 8	— Public candle procession display of fireworks, and Thai musical performance
5. Vasukri-Rajavoradit Landing Site	Apr. 5	— Royal Barge Procession

6. Rajavoradit Landing Evening Site	Apr. 7 - 8 - 9	-	Traditional chanting performances from the royal barges.
7. National Museum	Apr. 6	-	Exhibition on the different periods of Thai History
8. National Library	Apr. 6 - 21	-	Exhibition on Biographies of Kings of the Chakri Dynasty and on Foreigners who have contributed to the nation's progress
9. Teachers' Council	Apr. 6	-	Exhibition on Religious Evolution and Religious Exposition
10. Treasury Department	Apr. 6 - 21	-	Exhibition on Currency Development in the Rattanakosin Era and on Thai Coin Production
11. All Bus Terminals	Apr. 6 - 21	-	Exhibition on the Royal Activities of Kings of the House of Chakri and on the 200-year growth of Bangkok
12. Hua Mark Stadium	Apr. 4 - May 4	-	International Trade Fair
13. Manangkasila Mansion	Apr. 4 - 21	-	Folk Plays Demonstration, Thai Classical Music Performance and Exhibition of Thai Handicrafts by Suan Dusit Teachers College
14. Suan Dusit Teachers College	Apr. 4 - 21	-	Exhibition of history of Rattanakosin Era, Thai Musical Fair and Cultural Activities Contest.
15. National Theatre	Apr. 4 - 7	-	Traditional Puppet Show
16. "Sangkeetsala", open-air stage, National Museum		-	Traditional Thai Variety Show: folk plays, drama, khon (masked play) etc.
17. National Theatre every weekend during April		-	Thai Classical Drama
18. Montien Hotel	Apr. 2 - 21	-	Exhibition of Thai Arts of the Rattanakosin Period

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The Confluence of Eastern and Western Art

Cathy Woo

(卓以玉)

In this article I wish to offer some preliminary observations on a case of confluence of Eastern and Western art. My statements will be offered in the belief that art and culture profit by cross-fertilization — a belief which we all in the 1980s must share. If I draw upon my own experience generously, it will not be because I am generous with praise for myself, but rather because I am a practitioner of art and I earnestly wish to share with you what I have been going through thus far. My remarks will involve both theory and practice, and since my medium is mainly painting, my references in most cases deal with the art of painting.

The Hand and the Brush

The very first lesson given in traditional Chinese art education aims at disciplining the hand for a firm control of the brush to create subtle, though limited, forms. Chinese brushes are soft. The dominance of the art of calligraphy has conditioned the Chinese artist to respect the use of the brush tip almost exclusively.

Using the soft tip of a tapering brush to create forms requires considerable ability to control it. The years of practice with a brush, beginning when I was barely able to tie my own shoe laces, contributed firstly to my habit and joy in using calligraphic strokes in my painting, especially my earlier experiments done more in the traditional styles.

The joy I acquired in controlling the Chinese brush to create a line that conveys rhythm of movement and vibrancy of life continues to serve me, and will continue to serve me even though in many of my recent works calligraphic lines no longer dominate. I can sense whether a principal line I make in a painting is expressing what I wish to express, better than if I had had no such lengthy and arduous discipline. I can discover and enjoy, more than if I did not know my own brush, the beauty of the brush work in, for example, Rouault's oils, Picasso's sketches, and Cezanne's landscapes. This is one valuable bounty I inherited from Chinese painting.

But the limit of the Chinese

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brushstroke tradition eventually dawned on me. I observed how even the traditional Chinese painter had to liberate himself from the exclusive use of the tip of the brush. He slanted it to create broader and more varied lines, though he might continue to echo the traditional prejudice against any other painting instruments such as the finger and the fingernail. My later exposure to Western painting, which involves an infinitely greater variety of material and instruments, made me realize that as long as the form created serves the purpose of the artist, it really matters not what he uses to accomplish it. He can use a knife to spread and scrape the colors, or he can use the nozzle of the tube to smear the colors. He can even use buckets to pour on the colors, as Jackson Pollock does. I came to understand why Liu Kuo-sung's first advice to his students with some Chinese background was to free themselves from their dependence upon, and therefore imprisonment by, the Chinese brush. Liu requires them to try to create forms with anything but the brush. Yes, I understand the limit of the brush, but my attachment to it has been too strong to overcome. Besides, it has been serving me so happily. My compromise is to use the brush much more freely, most often without ever using its tip even once during the process of an entire painting except for signing my name with it.

The Structural Principles

I learned the traditional principles about the structure of Chinese painting when I first learned Chinese calligraphy. The principles of symmetry and balance, accommodation and compensation, movement and repose, contrast and harmony, tension and resolution, make

good sense in calligraphy as well as in painting. Later in my study of Western painting, the same gave me a delightful feeling and familiarity.

The feeling of familiarity was reinforced when I listened to the discussions on the basic components of forms in a painting. The analytical approach adopted by many Western teachers of art advises the student to look at a painting as composed of parallel lines, vertical, horizontal, slanted, and curved. The grouping and distribution of these basic elements is the artistic structure of the painting, and any successful structure can be understood by the principles I mentioned a moment ago. There was a time when I compared the Chinese traditional painting vocabulary, the different styles of brushstrokes, with the basic structural elements in the study of Western painting, but soon it became clear to me that the Chinese styles (such as the different kinds of *ts'un*) of brushstrokes themselves are forms, sometimes rather complex forms, such as the various ways of shaping up a mountain or of painting the different kinds of foliage. They are far from being the irreducible basic lines in a painting. Furthermore, the styles of brushstrokes have become fixed expressions; they tend to be formalistic and lose their creative power if the artist does not constantly search for new ways of giving form to thought and feeling. That is the main reason why I can no longer be satisfied with just the perfection of brushstrokes in a painting.

Optical Truth

The traditional Chinese way of training a painter to respect optical truth — training him how to look at an object — insists on the three-dimensionality of the

object. Like every other Chinese painter, I read the codes in the 17th century Chinese painting manual, *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*. One of the codes says that a rock must be divided into three faces. Later, I understood this as the simple, basic principle of perspective taught in Western painting. At the same time, I also discovered one of the major differences between Chinese and Western painting, and that difference involves their different treatments of optical truth. In turn, it leads to different attitudes toward realism in painting.

Showing the three sides of a rock gives it an optical sense of substance, just as the painting of a vine with one stroke showing dark and light gradations of ink gives the vine substance. The Chinese theory of realism, however, does not respect objective reality in that the life of the vine is captured in isolation without necessarily affirming the realism of the whole picture. The Chinese artist prefers to distill reality through his visual memory qualified by his feeling about the object observed, then commit the distillation onto paper. In so doing, he ignores the need for a unified perspective and a fixed viewpoint if he is treating a landscape realistically. And he often sacrifices the objective truth about a growing vine for its appealing calligraphic effect. Western realism does not, of course, exclude artistic recreation of nature. What is painted, though realistic, must not be a mere transplantation of raw nature, but rather an artistic distillation of nature observed. Even the new photo-realism agrees with this principle. Thus the confrontation of Eastern and Western theories of painting of what is real results in a perceptually challenging and fascinating problem for me: how much artistic restructuring of nature should it be for an

artist of realism? Doesn't the Chinese tradition of painting landscapes tend to become rather sterile mannerism because it fails to keep tapping objective reality for art? I do not know if I can ever find a perfect solution for myself. Right now, my landscapes are getting less and less representational, but whatever gets represented in them is unified by a single viewpoint and supported by perspective.

Closely related to the use of objective truth in painting is the traditional Chinese catechism about composition such as that found in *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* which accumulates and consolidates nearly the entire Chinese painting tradition in one volume. Trees are best when they are grown together but never all parallel to each other, so says *The Manual*. The orchid leaves must cross each other to form a phoenix's eye, again says *The Manual*. First I had thought them to be simply wonderful revelations of the secrets of beauty. Then I became suspicious of them, taking them as nothing more than formula. I still cannot return to my earliest enthusiasm about them, but the Western art theory of selecting the best of forms for one's own purpose has by now made me realize why these codes of painting came into being. They are but what the past master painters with their trained eyes had discovered as some basic guidelines for capturing the eye-pleasing elements in raw nature.

The Universal and Enduring Quality of Art

The problem of capturing the universal and enduring meaning in forms remains equally difficult in both Eastern and Western painting. The Chinese tradition taught me to look for the spirit of the

object painted, whatever that may be. I could accept the theory easily because both the Confucian and the Taoist traditions deal with the concept of spirit and Buddhism upholds as supreme something other than the phenomenal in this world. But exactly what is this spirit?

The meaning of the word "spirit" in Chinese art is multifarious. It refers to the moving, elevating quality of the entire painting, or the life-likeness of the objects painted (in this case they have to be representational of recognizable objects), or the personality, often moral character, of the painter. There could be other ways of stating the point, culminating in the Taoist tenet of transmitting the Tao in everything to affirm the universal Tao. The Chinese tradition taught me to try to capture the spirit when I paint, by first observing the spirit expressed in ancient masters' great works. When that was not so obvious, I was taught to observe the real objects for their living, moving characteristics such as Ch'i Pai-shih had done before painting his successful works of shrimps. I did, and I found myself attracted to the textures and colors of the real object in front of me. My quiet observation, almost meditative because of concentration, enables me to feel very close to the object, sometimes too close as though I were about to enter into the object itself. While still under the complete spell of traditional Chinese painting, I mostly steal models from my admired forerunners, hoping to reach their kind of spiritual quality. The Western concepts about reality added new dimensions to my enterprise of capturing the spirit. I now feel free to let the object grow under my eyes as though under a magic spell. If a rose has to reach the proportions of a dining table, why not let

it be? Is there not an appeal, an overwhelming command of attention, and a memorable quality about it when it blows so big? That, plus the feeling of vibrancy which I try to create with some life-like texture of the petals, touches of emotionally readable liquid colors, and dashes of shimmering light that come through the blurred but translucent effect, should suggest something of the much sought after spirit, should it not?

My experiment with enlarged and what may be called semi-abstract depictions of natural objects (flowers, fish, and so forth), though supported by the traditional Chinese concept of trying to see the essence of the object with the mind's eye, has actually been encouraged by several Western ideas about painting. The size of the object is, after all, a matter of the scope of observation: a grain of sand could be a towering mountain to a microbe; we read this theory even in the Taoist book, *Chuang-tzu*. The impressionist's theory that colors come from light not only gave me courage to use bright, striking colors contrary to the Chinese tradition of subdued hues, but also freed me from a deeply rooted concern with recognizable forms. Hence the semi-abstract tendency. Recent discussions among Western painters against a sharp distinction between representational and abstract, further reduced my concern over whether my works are getting more and more abstract because, strictly speaking, every painting has to have a concrete form, and there is no such thing as abstract. Although really it seems certain that painting will continue to move back and forth between the more and the less representational, the coming together of Eastern and Western theories about art reinforces my confidence that all I need is a continuing search for forms

and colors, whatever they be, which will work for me. With this confidence I feel quite comfortable, taking from both the Chinese and the Western traditions and enjoying the best of every variety of their cross fertilization.

Portraits and Landscapes, Two Separate Directions in Search of Art

Learning the Chinese brushstroke gave me a sense of form which embodies the living posture of a vine or the stem of a lotus leaf, but the forms I learned to create for trees and even the mountains in a Chinese landscape were done with brushstrokes very different from the broad and dashing ones. The fine brushstrokes I learned to use to outline the tree trunk or the shape of a mountain came closer to the pencil drawing I tried in my classes of Western painting. In the latter classes, the pencil was used to configure the still life or the nude in front of my eyes, while in the former lessons in Chinese painting, I had been trained to appreciate how earlier Chinese masters could represent what they had seen with their brushstroke vocabulary. It was the Chinese painting vocabulary I had been acquiring, rather than using the brush in my own way to capture my visual experience of real objects in nature. Consequently, I had not been able to put the two processes of learning together to benefit from a synthesis of both. I practiced some Chinese figure drawing with the brush, without feeling much about what I was doing; I also practiced pencil sketching and later even oil painting of human figures, again without too much feeling for my own work, treating them just as so much exercise of the hand. This summer, I spent over a month in the museums of Amsterdam,

The Hague, and Paris, from where I just returned. I viewed and reviewed the original works of the French and Dutch masters of the past three centuries and gained some fresh perceptions of the difference between Chinese and Western paintings. I cannot be too sure about how the newly gained understanding will affect the development of my own work, but most definitely it will, and I would like to share some comments on the prospects with you.

Portrait and other human figure paintings filled the mainstream of the Western tradition, and they remain the principal source of lofty inspiration, if not immediate model, for the successful painters in Europe today. Just about every one of the actively exhibiting painters I interviewed in Paris mentioned Rembrandt as one of the few at the pinnacle of Western painting from whom all the latecomers had much to learn. What did the latecomers learn from Rembrandt that continues to inspire them to strive for loftier heights in art? Not just the techniques of handling the light focused dramatically on certain faces or lively composition of the figures in group situations, not even the omission of details of which the earlier masters of the Dutch school had been rightfully proud, although these were important contributions Rembrandt made. What Rembrandt really taught later painters to aim at was the vibrancy of life exhibited in the portrait of a common person, such as the little woman hostess in his famous tableau "The Night Watch," done in 1642. The lighting on that ordinary-looking face done in seemingly casual brushstrokes brings out the joy and dignity of life itself. It is not so much a picture of revelry demonstrated by a group of 17th century swashbuckling

guardsmen of Amsterdam (as you very well know, it was not a "Night Watch" at all), as a celebration of the sheer joy and dignity of human life, with a touch of purity and reverence that comes close to religion.

To be sure, there is in it a high degree of fidelity with the physical appearances of most of the models who paid for the painting, but that is of secondary importance because even those whose faces are only indistinctly shown in the picture, rewarded Rembrandt with equal enthusiasm, so the history of art tells us, and the 17th century Dutch guardsman was not known for his exulted taste for art, but the overall excellence of the painting's artistry won him over. This is the high level of artistic accomplishment repeatedly demonstrated in Rembrandt's works, where the joy and dignity of life is celebrated, including his "Le Boeuf Croche," which can be seen as a symbolic interpretation of the crucifixion. This is the enduring strength of Western portraiture.

By contrast, Chinese painting lacks strength in human portraiture. The legendary models created by Wu Tao-tzu (c. 690-760) and Liang K'ai (fl. 1250) appealed only to the intellectualized reading by the cultivated literati whose world and vision was supported by Taoism and Buddhism. Even Ku K'ai-chih (c. 345-411), with all the sophistication attributed to his human figures, failed to present the measure of emotional content to his viewers as Rembrandt did. Although landscape painting subsequently rose to overshadow everything else in Chinese painting, raising it to compare favorably with the best of artistic attainment in any other culture, the vacuum in human portraiture in Chinese painting was never filled. (I am not saying that there

have been no great portraits in China, but their creators have been remembered mostly as anonymous artisans rather than artists: Ting Yun-p'eng (丁雲鵬) may be one of the very few feeble exceptions.) The human figures appearing in Chinese paintings, as a rule, serve as a marker of the position human beings occupied in the traditional Chinese scheme of the universe which praises the grandeur of nature over man, as has been so eloquently stated in Fan K'uan's (c. 950-1026) "Travelers in Autumn Mountains." Larger portraits modeled their faces after idealized god-like creatures distinguished in their ethereal quality and in the airiness of the flowing lines that depict their costumes. The Chinese critic comments on the *shen-t'ai* or spiritual quality, of these portraits, never on their human quality.

Pondering on the significance of this difference between the Chinese painting tradition and that of the West, I seem to see a fundamental omission in Chinese painting, and that is the attention paid to the richness and greatness of human life, individual as well as collective. The difference may offer an explanation to the phenomenon that traditional Chinese painting stresses harmony while the Western tradition tends to emphasize tension; the Chinese painter tries to offer answers which only the elite can accept and enjoy, while the Western painter attempts to state problems which confront man, and in his effort to face the problems, man's greatness is seen.

I admit that thus far I have preferred to express joy in my works, leaving the problems to other artists, but I sense that before too long I may have to face reality about human life to help myself develop further toward the ultimate in the world of art.

Conclusion

Time constrains my wish to go on developing the theme of my talk today. Let me hasten to sum up what I have said so far and perhaps indicate a few paradigms in the confluence of art, East and West, which have come to my attention.

I have dealt with the bliss and bane of brushstroke, the foundation of Chinese painting, and how I have been both profiting from and perturbed by it. It has been an eye opener for me to the world of calligraphic beauty, but it has also been a handicap to be removed only after my exposure to Western art. The brushstroke tradition overly emphasizes following models, whereas the Western tradition stresses the importance of seeking one's own way to experience the world and then express oneself via one's visual perception.

In structural principles the tradition of Chinese painting takes a page from its close neighbor, the art of calligraphy. It stresses the need to internalize rhythmic movement in the composition as a whole as well as in every single brushstroke. While it is abstract, the theory of rhythmic movement is still not too hard to apply to calligraphy which is not representational to begin with, but the same theory becomes less workable in painting. The result is that the structural principles of Chinese painting tend to become something copied from past examples and accepted without question. The Western artist has been relying more on his own observation of the real world to confirm and further specify the validity of his structural principles to make them applicable to his art work. We remember how an ancient Chinese critic rejected a painting by an otherwise quite respected

artist because it showed a fighting buffalo with its tail held straight out; he said that a buffalo in fighting would tuck its tail under its belly, thus the painting revealed the artist's lack of knowledge about what is real in nature. Yes, the Chinese also advocated modeling after nature (*fa tzu-jan* 法自然) but the difference in the degree of exertion to observe nature constitutes a difference in quality and in the philosophical basis for the practice. People like Da Vinci and Rembrandt all studied human anatomy carefully before painting human figures. But the Chinese would run away from the sight of blood, for, hasn't Confucius said that a gentleman should avoid the kitchen?

It could be said that in developing the structural principles of painting, the Western approach has been more scientific in that it searches for an objective basis that can be re-experienced. Carried to the extreme, we have Pieter Mondriaan (1872-1944) rendering his visual experience in geometric lines and primitive colors because those are the irreducible elements in any painting. Mondrian's ultimate paintings may not be spelling out the ultimate of this art, but he made an absolute statement about the structural principles of painting that cannot be denied. He has, in essence, told the art world that an artist must recognize those basic, irreducible elements in visual art, not just to keep painting them as Mondrian himself did, but rather to adapt them as guidelines for his own structural designs whatever they may be. Without this spirit of reaching the bottom of a problem, the Chinese artist tends to keep repeating and directly, or one may say, blindly, accepting the structural principles as have been handed down to him.

As to the Chinese recognition of optical truth, it observes such things as

aerial perspective and viewpoint only partially. The Chinese artist respects the three dimensionality of the object depicted to achieve some degree of verisimilitude, but he tends to blend the physical with a theory about its spirituality. The Chinese artist mixes his mental world with the actual world, with such happy consequences as found in the works of Shih T'ao (1641-1710) and Pa-ta Shan-jen (1626-1705). The Western artist respects the laws of physical nature rigidly to reach that high level of realism in the 17th century Dutch and French paintings, and then departs from the physical world to venture into the psychological world. But the Western artist also has explored successfully new vistas of combining the physical with the psychological. Giorgio de Chirico's (b. 1888) dreamworld that juxtaposes the ancient with the modern,¹ Francis Bacon's (1909-) depiction of human suffering and defiance,² and Alberto Giacometti's (1901-1966) elongated human figures in sculpture,³ have exerted enormous influence on modern art and are likely to continue to inspire the art of tomorrow.

Finally I want to comment on the ultimate of art. The Chinese seek to identify the *ch'i* in a painting, and with it the Chinese would consider the work to be in possession of divine quality (*shen yün* 神韻). Elsewhere I have discussed these concepts at length, and I shall not try to summarize any of my statements on them here.⁴ I shall only observe that these concepts in Chinese painting are received by the Chinese on two levels. The folk way of understanding them makes the common, uncultivated people look for the life-like elements in a

painting. To them, whatever reflects life and the living has infinite appeal. On the second, the elite level, the Chinese interpret the notion of *ch'i* and *shen* in terms of Taoism or Confucianism, or a combination of both. In Taoist terms, *shen* may be just another name for Tao, while *ch'i* is but Tao in motion. In Confucian terms, *ch'i* and *shen* are but signs of man's moral quality which must be reflected in his painting.

The Western artist also seeks to identify the enduring universal appeal in a painting as the ultimate of art. When the quality is spoken of as the most noble and grand that elevates man to a higher level of existence by either gladdening him or shocking him, the quality tends to be associated with the mystical in religion. Since the Western religion, principally Christianity, upholds God as the ultimate savior of man from his suffering, Western art will continue to depict human suffering because messiah always lies in the future and human problems will continue because God has not yet solved all of them.

Thus in their common search for the ultimate of art, both the Chinese and the Western artists pursue a mystical quality. In this pursuit, the Western artist wrestles with human problems while the Chinese proposes final solutions. In the Western world man has to continue to struggle with his problems and God is only a helper; in China God, if there is a Chinese God, is the solution, however detached from real life it may be. As these Chinese and Western ideas and theories about art come together in my mind, my practice, I hope, will some day yield a synthesis that will combine the best of both.

Notes

1. In Chirico's own words, "For a work of art to be truly immortal, it must completely go beyond the limits of the human: commonsense and logic are defects in it. In this way it will come closer to reality and to childhood habits of thinking." See Gaston Diehl, *The Moderns* (New York: Crown Publishers, n.d.), p. 95. For an example of his works, see his "Sailors' Barracks" in *Larousse Encyclopedia of Modern Art* (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1965), p. 352.
2. Terry Measham says of Francis Bacon in *The Moderns* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976), plate 46: The figure in "Study for Portrait on Folding Bed" is not merely isolated; it is humiliated by being on show. It is a helpless victim.
3. See *Alberto Giacometti* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1965), introduction by Peter selz. On p. 10, Selz says, "The figures. . . do not have much individuality; nothing, in fact, would interest Giacometti less than a psychological interpretation of the individual." It is true that Giacometti does not try to delve into the psychology of the person portrayed, but the sculptor in designing his work in such a manner is revealing his own psychological world.
4. See Catherine Woo, *An Investigation of Chinese Aesthetics and Its Discriminators: A Case Study of the Life and Works of Ch'i Pat-shih* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of San Francisco, 1981), pp. 119-142; 196-201.

Hermogenes Ilagan and Zarzuela in the Philippines

Rustica C. Carpio

Spain is the progenitor of what we now call Philippine zarzuela. Inevitably so, the Spaniards brought Christianity here as part of their colonial quest, and with it, numerous alluring means by which to inculcate their Roman Catholic religion. The truth of their indoctrination was realized through an appeal to the people's flair for drama. Thus, the rare combination of religion and drama propitiated the natives' suspecting mien and fitted into the patten of their pious and artistic temperament.

The zarzuela is, in essence, "drama lirico musical"¹ or lyrical musical drama. The name came from the Palacio de la Zarzuela (Palace of the Zarzuela), a hunting lodge in the woods of Real Sitio de el Pardo, not far from Madrid. The place was designed to offer dramatic performances for the recreation of King Philip IV's infant son, Fernando.² The dramatic term *zarzuela* was first used for two-act plays where a large amount of music was interposed. First presented with the minimum of scenery, and at times without it, "la zarzuela" enthralled spectators with songs and instrumental music. The early comic and lyric plays fell under "genero grande" or "genero

chico," depending upon the dimension and length of the plays, the first referring to the longer plays and the second pertaining to the short ones.

The Spanish zarzuela is "una composicion dramatica, parte de ella cantada, y tiene una historia tan antigua como la de nuestro teatro nacional."³ (a dramatic composition, some parts of which are sung, and with a history as old as that of our national theater.) Unlike the opera where all the dialogues are sung, the zarzuela alternates dialogues and music as the story moves on. Circumfused with themes culled from legends and myths, religious plays, and situations from contemporary life dating from years accumulated into a whole mass of changes and remembrances, it moved on to more complicated techniques and more spacious theater houses.

Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600-1681) both used songs to communicate the action of their plays. Lope's *La selva sin amor* (The Forest Without Love) (1629), Calderon's *El jardin de Falerina* (The Garden of Falerina), and Gabriel Bocangel y Unzueta's *El nuevo olimpo* (The New Olympus) (1648) are immediate

forerunners of the zarzuela. Calderon's *El laurel de Apolo* (The Laurel of Apollo) produced at the Coliseo of the Palace of Buen Retiro in 1658 is considered the first real zarzuela.

From 1660,⁴ Calderon, Diamante, Zamora, the Conde de Clavijo, and Bances Candamo entertained and fawned upon the royal audiences with their heroic and mythological plays. Foremost composer was Juan Hidalgo followed by Sebastian Duron and Antonio de Literes. Earlier, music was composed by Gil Vicente and Juan Velez de Guevara, but much of the musical score had been lost.

The seeping in of the Italian opera gave the eighteenth century zarzuela a stiff competition. Were it not for the efforts of Ramon de la Cruz⁵ (1731-1794) who injected new vigor and animation to the zarzuela, this dramatic form would have died. He registered his reaction to neo-classicism through a return to realism. So greatly popular were his works, most especially *Las segadoras de Vallecas* (The Women Harvesters of Vallecas), but when he died, the zarzuela once again suffered another blow from the Italian opera until the second half of the nineteenth century.

A resuscitation breathed its way through the hands of Barbieri who staged *Jugar con fuego* (To Play With Fire) in 1851. Instead of the traditional two acts, he had three acts which led to the calling of the *genre* as zarzuela grande.⁶ The success of the Barbieri presentation precipitated the construction of El Teatro de la Zarzuela⁷ (The Zarzuela Theater) whose inauguration on October 10, 1856 coincided with the birthday of Queen Isabela II. The second half of the nineteenth century marked the golden age of the modern zarzuela,⁸ and to this day, this dramatic *genre* still exists although

now touched by influences of foreign musicals and revues.

The Spanish zarzuela is said to have been transported into the Philippines in 1848 by Don Narciso de Escosura. Another arrival was in 1873, the troupe now headed by the Spanish poet and playwright Dario Cespedes.⁹ Their first presentation *Jugar con fuego* was shown in 1879 at the Teatro de Novedades (Novedades Theater) on Calle Arroceros (Arroceros Street). The next Spanish troupe, led by Alejandro Cubero who reached the Philippines in 1880, began using Filipinos in the cast. For this, he earned the title "el padre del teatro español en Filipinas"¹⁰ (The father of Spanish theater in the Philippines).

The first Spanish zarzuelas staged in the Philippines were reminiscent of the *moro-moro* or *comedia* with all its magic elements and its kings and queens. (Moro-moro is the stylized religious drama which revolved around the clashes between Christians and Muslim Filipinos.) It was Ilagan, the first to organize a troupe fashioned after the Spanish zarzuela companies, who started imbibing in the Philippine zarzuela the Filipino flavor. The Tagalog zarzuela which he originated represents a high degree of artistry which zarzuelas from other regions emulated as model.

Action, Characterization, Theme, and Style in the Drama of Ilagan

If Philippine contemporary theater, described as "perennially inchoate," were really to develop, Nick Joaquin's observation that "a revival of the moro-moro and the zarzuela"¹¹ is urgent becomes tenable. Thus, this writer agrees with what respected critic Rosalinda Orosa says that "in volume of plays, in size and

response of audiences, in sheer vitality, the *maco-moro* and the *zarzuela* remain superior to modern drama in English or Filipino."¹²

Modern Philippine drama, be it in English or in the vernaculars, is continuously inchoate depending upon the moods and resources of dramatic groups, the idiosyncracies of the audience, the clime or conditions of the environment. No dramatist or dramatic troupe at present can claim experiencing a theater season where a play enjoys a run of six months, or a year, or longer, the way the *zarzuelas* of yesteryears were staged. No group of today, no matter how popular or dedicated, can claim having produced a single play repeatedly for at least one hundred performances in a year's time.

Hermogenes Ilagan's generation experienced drama seasons almost all year round — with but a slight lull in the rainy days of June, July, and August. And the influences coming from Europe had undeniably reached Philippine soil. The well-spring of human nature which pulsates in all parts of the globe, varying only in degree and intensity, provides essence and substance to the works of literature and drama. It is no wonder then that the themes which pervaded the works of Spain's Golden Age permeated the creations of Ilagan who was a sensitive adherent of Spanish *zarzuela*.

Ilagan could not have read the majority of the works of the great writers of Spain. Nor could he be completely possessed of all their virtues. He was too busy writing dramas and staging them in many a nook and cranny of the Philippines for the people's delectation and instruction. An artist, born not made, could not be completely swept overnight by techniques and trends. He can only gather impress-

ions and be touched by them somehow, but always, the artist, the creator in him paves the way for assimilation to a certain point, his faculties allowing him to inject part of his own personality into his works.

Ilagan, both a lyric writer and a humorist, infuses tears and laughter in his plays, records insights and impressions he gathers of life. His numerous works can eloquently prove that he was rare: he knew how to live. He lived his life "to the fullest, in every sense of the word," said his son Conrado Ilagan.

Much of the value of his drama, any drama for that matter, lies in his characterization, theme, and style, for it is through those aspects where the writer's intention is felt and conveyed. Theme and style, therefore, in interplay with characterization, are interlaced, inter-related for the drama evolves intrinsically, even extrinsically, comments on life, projects life, calls upon the audience's imagination, sets up values and balances the poles to which human behavior and habits gravitate, while along its way, the drama suggests meanings and at the same time invites judgment. To be conscious of a play's idea is a wise step to a better enjoyment of the whole drama. As such, we do take cognizance of the character's whole stream of objectives, all imaginative thoughts, feelings, and actions, conscious and subconscious, conveyed through a divinely inspired acting which brings about that oneness between artist and audience, faithful to that "super-objective" prescribed by the great actor-director Constantin Stanislavski of the Moscow Art Theater, that objective

which is in harmony with the intention of the playwright and at the same time arouses a response in the soul of the actors. That means that we must

search for it not only in the play but in the actors themselves.¹³

The actor, epitomizing a main theme, thinks of a specific purpose with which he performs his task like: I am supposed to be good or evil, or love is irrational, happiness is an illusion, or mankind has a promising future.

In ascertaining Ilagan's approach to reality, this writer is reminded of dramatic vision and the playwright's access to it, "a view of life as a condition of disequilibrium, a state of crises, conflict and change; and dramatic vision encompasses movement toward some new equilibrium, however temporary or tentative, or movement toward a reconciliation of opposites that makes survival or sanity possible."¹⁴ The great critic Ferdinand Brunetière, in his *The Law of the Drama*, states that drama must observe humanity in its tensest and most relaxed moments, where there are conflicts generated by difficulties or oppositions, for

. . . . Drama is the representation of the will of man in conflict with the mysterious powers or natural forces which limit and belittle us; it is one of us thrown living upon the stage, there to struggle against fatality, against social law, against one of his fellow mortals, against himself, if need be against the ambitions, the interests, the prejudices, the folly, the malevolence of those who surround him.¹⁵

Dramatic vision gives Ilagan's drama and theater the justification of their being. This dramatic vision, this view of the human condition consisting of a melange of laughter and tears and heightened by the contradictions and absurdities that human life encounters, is drama's very essence.

A study of Ilagan's zarzuela as an art form through an assessment of his most representative work would give an insight into the dramatist's art and vision as communicated through character, theme, and style.

Panarak ni Rosa

"Panarak ni Rosa" (The Dagger of Rosa) is a three-act play with music composed by Leon Ygnacio (or Ignacio). The first scene in Act I shows the living room of Patnubay, newly-elected provincial governor. Men and women come to offer gifts to their official whose helping hand they expect in time of problems, so the chorus sings. In a way, the gifts are also manifestations of love. Patnubay thanks the crowd and promises his unending help coupled with an expression of optimism that the province would be spared from all troubles. A vow which amuses Pulupot. And, he replies:

Wasto nga po. Ngunit ang ibinubuti ng Bayan ay nasa namumuno, at ang ibinubuti ng Puno ay nasa mamamayan. (That is right, but the well-being of the town depends on its ruler, as the ruler's well-being rests upon the townspeople.)

Pulupot knows Patnubay's hypocrisy, and tells himself that the time would come when Patnubay's true color would be discovered. He, Pulupot, had lost to Patnubay in the elections. Now, although he disagrees with the governor in more ways than one, sportsmanship must be exhibited. Join the well-wishers; praise the winner as others do. When he warns Patnubay that a leader should keep all his promises and not deceive his people, Gat Buho accuses him of nonconformity.

The group of celebrating crowd in

Scene II is joined by Severa, Patnubay's wife. Pointing to the numerous gifts gathered, Patnubay tells her of the crowd's reason for merriment. She is visibly unmoved, verbally expressing dissatisfaction because of the absence of other things. In unison, all voices rise to pledge more presents. Another gift-giving session is afoot for the governor invites all to come back in the evening for another celebration. Pulupot, in his aside, pities the poor. Severa, to herself also, comments on the beauty of holding an office. Then, she articulates her desire to delay giving thanks as the people can anticipate more festivities. Taking advantage of the citizens's generosity, she keeps on seeking favors.

The guests depart, leaving Patnubay and Severa as Scene II ends. Alone, husband and wife exuberantly admire the presents and look forward to better and more bountiful days when the governor actually assumes office. Severa hopes that Patnubay would be a governor of and for all times. After having complained of campaign expenses, it is only now that she realizes the pay-off. Even her gambling business faces a lucrative future. She and Patnubay sing a duet, figuring out all the material gains they expect during his term.

In Scene IV, the governor and his lady receive Gat Hangin, fawn and flatterer, who warns Patnubay against trusting all the people — they only expect favors in return for their presents. When they get disgusted, they backbite, he asserts. This had happened to him before, he confesses. Resenting people's observation that he is a yes-man, Gat Hangin prescribes putting up a good front especially with foreigners. Gat Hangin is promised by Patnubay that he will straighten up the crooked. Severa, for her part, says she

is "contentong contentong contento na." (very, very, very satisfied).

Gat Amen joins them in Scene V, and finds Severa jubilantly reciting her extreme contentment as she anticipates the forthcoming oath-taking. Solicitously, he asks what should be done on this great event, but Patnubay says he knows. Severa leaves the men to attend to the household needs. The men continue talking (Scene VI). Patnubay asks for some beer. Meantime, Gat Hangin loses composure and accuses Patnubay and Gat Amen of secretly talking about him.

Scene VII is very brief. Severa goes out to hire a cook, but has asked the men to stay for lunch. Losers in electoral fights should not be so touchy, Patnubay tells Gat Hangin, and remembering the beer, he calls for Bubuyog who could not produce any bottle for the lady of the house had locked the storeroom. The visitors cannot have their meals also as there is not enough rice to cook. For all these shortcomings, Bubuyog is rebuked.

Rosa arrives in Scene X, not knowing that Bubuyog is hidden somewhere in a corner. Patnubay learns that Rosa's sister is waiting in the street. Rosa's message is that her father, Pulupot Dalita, felt embarrassed for he was the only one without gift. So he sends her to bring his presents. That Patnubay has taken interest in Rosa is obvious, for he declares so himself. Rosa's chagrin has made her eloquent and she spurns the unseemly behavior of a man who should be respectable instead. In his song, Patnubay says that love knows no boundaries or class distinctions; there is no king for everybody is equal. And Rosa, singing too, exhorts the governor to awaken to his senses. The song later melts into conversation, Rosa all the more becoming firm. She says:

Ang wikang pag-ibig dapat na igalang
ng taong may bait at may karangalan
pagkat siyang gamit unang kasangkapan
sa sama at buti ng taong sinuman.

(This thing called love should be revered
by people, both sane and upright
because, as weapon this may serve for
bad, for good, and for the right.)

Patnubay's persistence goes far and he tries to grab Rosa so that in Scene XI, Nenita, Rosa's younger sister, comes up upon hearing her sister's scream. Patnubay shakes Rosa's hand and she leaves with her sister. Bubuyog who saw all that had transpired, tells Patnubay that Severa is coming with many people. This is Scene XII: Bubuyog is worried that he might be scolded for the rice he cooked was too little and yet it turns out uncooked. This is because he heard a bird crying and he got his trap to catch it, but it has escaped.

Pulupot's nipa house is the setting of Scene XIII. Pulupot learns of the attempted seduction of his daughter and feels that Patnubay's attempt is an affront and a travesty because they are poor. The ordeal is too much. Reality becomes to Pulupot very much of an absurdity, for those whom the people trust are the ones untrustworthy. He resolves to fight for reason though it may cost him his life. And the two daughters are scared of what may be the aftermath.

Act II opens in Pulupot's house. He is bothered by thoughts of the governor's abuses. But he is only a town president. In a long soliloquy, he questions the validity of the governor's abusive behavior. Would God above and the people tolerate such perversity? He says:

Ah! tunay nga namang kadalasay ang
masasama ang nagtatagumpay, at ang

katwiran ang lumuluha. . .

(Ah! it is really true that often evil
triumphs, and reason weeps. . .)

Pulupot's condemnation of a lifestyle he abhors where decency and human dignity are remote, is jolted as Rosa appears carrying a letter sent by Alfredo, her sweetheart. She reads this to her father. Alfredo had finished his law studies and is now training with a law firm. Very pleased, Pulupot tells Rosa to answer the letter and ask Alfredo to come for a visit after his bar examinations for them to discuss vital issues.

Scene II has Rosa singing about her love. She and Nenita are left alone. The old woman, Simona, arrives in Scene III to sell jewelries, but Rosa politely replies that she cannot buy without her father's permission. Simona understands. Actually, she has another motive — to convey the governor's message of love to Rosa. She begs Rosa to keep the matter a secret. Rosa falls on the chair, weak and helpless. Her anger is registered and when her father returns, she reveals Simona's mission. Pulupot instructs his daughter that when Simona returns, she should send a message to the governor — that at almost midnight he should come for a rendezvous with Rosa. Secretive, Pulupot would not give the rationale behind this. The impediments and pressures of life are what Pulupot talks about in Scene V.

In Scene VI, on the street, Gat Buho chances upon Bubuyog who contemplates on running away from his masters. He tells the Visayan houseboy that he would report him. Scene VII follows with Bubuyog relating his dream to the chorus: he dreamed about Venus, but when he woke up, it was the cat who was beside him.

Scene VIII is laid in the living room of

Patnubay and Severa. Severa busily counts the money she has collected from usury and selling things on installment. Gat Buho arrives. Thinking that he is there to borrow money, Severa sends him away. With the same locale, Scene IX unfolds, and Bubuyog comes, unsuccessful in collecting money for Severa. He is scolded. This is the last straw, and he argues that he is not even fed well but instead punishment is always his ready share. A song of Bubuyog and Severa follows, and the governor's wife confirms her willingness to release the houseboy. Patnubay comes and stops the rigmarole. Not showing his real feeling and under the pretext that he would send money to a needy friend, Patnubay looks for Simona. He learns from his wife that Simona is off to the house of Pulupot to tend to her business.

Simona appears in Scene X, happily reporting to Patnubay the message of Rosa. The signal would be Rosa's waving of a white handkerchief — a proof that her father is asleep. Patnubay requests Simona to withhold the information from Severa. Scene XI follows showing Gat Hangin imploring Patnubay to be more careful with his actuations. His being governor does not immunize him from the commission of misdemeanors. He is explicit in rejecting the governor's amorous interest in Rosa. This is already a desire to dishonor Pulupot since Patnubay is married. Being a friend, Gat Hangin cannot refuse to accompany the governor. As the two men walk toward Pulupot's house, they hear the sound of an approaching sea vessel drawing nearer and nearer.

Scene XII pictures night time and the action once again emanates from Pulupot's house. Alfredo, just alighted from the boat from Manila, treads the path, luggage

in hand. He goes home first, but later decides to see Rosa. Out of sight is Alfredo as Pulupot comes out carrying a revolver while a dagger shines on his waist. Rosa sees him and terrified, entreats him not to hedge with any shady action. There is no remedy, Pulupot firmly says, for abusive persons except to extinguish them. Rosa pleads with the father, and succeeds in getting the dagger, an inheritance from Pulupot's father. The revolver stays with Pulupot. It is an hour before midnight. In front of Pulupot's yard, Patnubay and Gat Hangin approach, looking for a sign from Rosa. They are visibly seen and Pulupot calls for them to come up. But Patnubay sets his revolver as Gat Hangin draws a knife. The governor fires his deadly weapon and then a shot is heard, Pulupot fires, too. The two men run while Rosa screams.

In Scene XIV, Rosa's plaintive voice reaches Alfredo who is walking towards Pulupot's house. Noticing that somebody approaches, Pulupot fires a shot thinking that enemies are again there to molest them. Alfredo is hit and comes, ambling for life. He falls before he could even go near Rosa. Military personnel arrive with Patnubay and Gat Hangin in Scene XV. Upon Patnubay's orders, Pulupot is arrested and as he is being taken, Alfredo dies.

The prison cell is the gloomy site of Act III. Men and women, Pulupot included, are there confined, victims of their own doings. A roll call of inmates dominates Scene I. Scene II shows life in the prison cell. The chorus sings in Scene III, exclaiming:

Anong saya anong inam ng bilangong
magkainan waring tayo'y mga mahal
pag oras nay dudulutan
(How happy, how good the prisoners'

lot at mealtime, we are offered our food like people of consequence.)

One inmate says he is not afraid, another is not sad, another has no regrets, and the chorus sings in unison, obviously getting bolder. Pulupot regrets that he failed to kill Patnubay. He narrates his past life to the other inmates who listen attentively.

In prison, Pulupot waits for grace from the Governor-General. His lawyer had appealed for the humanizing of his sentence which is electrocution. He is transferred to another prison cell in Scene IV as the other prisoners are ordered to fulfill their work chores. Scene V offers a comic tone provided by Bubuyog who is leaving his masters and Simona who asks him to return at the behest of Severa. Simona's grating voice fails to convince Bubuyog. Gat Buho joins them in the next scene and tells Bubuyog to postpone his departure. He blames Severa for Bubuyog's leaving, but Simona defends Severa and says the male sex is the worst.

Rosa delivers a long verse in Scene VIII about the mysteries and vagaries in life. She gently touches the dagger which is her inheritance, while Nenita's constant query about their father's homecoming pierces her heart. Nenita sings on the sufferings of orphans, and Rosa asks her to practise her songs for their father's delight. This is part of Nenita's song.

Sa patak ng tubig bato mang matigas
pilit maaagnas pagdating ng oras bakit
kami ngayon luha may magdanak ay di
pinapansin noong walang habag?
(A drop of water may soften the hardest
stone and it will melt when its destiny
comes; despite our tears we are left
alone, pity is denied us by the powerful
ones?)

Rosa shows appreciation for her sister's song and tells her that she deserves toys from their father. But the young girl shows disinterest in toys — she prefers a portrait of Jose Rizal. Nenita goes out to play as the action moves to Scene IX. Alone, Rosa recites a long soliloquy. Then Patnubay arrives with Gat Amen, Gat Hangin, and Kalampag. When Kalampag asks a pre-symbolic question, "Kumusta Kayo?" (How are you?), Rosa takes it literally and answers:

Ay mga Ginoo! katulad po ng yagit na
dala ng agos, na kung napakalakas ang
baha ng tubig ay nagi-inikot; at kung
humihimpil namay lagi na sa look at di
makaahon sa pampang ng Ilog.

(Ay, gentlemen! like the debris flown
by the waves, when the flood water is
too strong, it keeps on spinning; and
when the water subsides, it always hides
itself for it cannot reach the height of
the Riverbank.)

This answer amazes the visitors and makes them marvel at her intelligence. Rosa warns them that talking to a criminal's daughter may be degrading. She asks a series of questions and the build-up to an emotional height is evident. Where are the people her father had helped, she asks. The men invite Rosa to attend a birthday party that same day and Rosa promises to go if the three would inform her about her father. Holding an old newspaper, Kalampag reads the news that the appeal is not considered and Pulupot will meet his death the following day.

Scene X has Nenita scampering to find Rosa half conscious. But when Rosa opens her eyes and her mouth, Nenita gets scared. Rosa sounds like a lunatic. The three men gone, Rosa recites her love for Alfredo in between laughs.

The chorus opens Scene XI with a

song praising Patnubay. Men and women are on their way to the celebration at the governor's house, well-decorated, well-appointed. Severa is cursing because her debtors have not settled their accounts. But when Scene XIII unfurls, there is a different Severa, now changed in mood, rejoicing with the guests.

Simona appears followed by Rosa and Nenita in Scene XIV. When she talks with Rosa, the latter bursts into laughter; and Simona deciphers that she has gone mad. Rosa is now feared. It is apparent from her laughing, talking about love, complaining about life that she is insane. Pity is aroused amidst the festive mood. Severa thinks of making Rosa drink and Patnubay volunteers to get the water. The last scene shows Patnubay carrying the glass of water and coming near Rosa. Rosa calls Alfredo and asks for her father. As Patnubay offers the glass, Rosa fishes her dagger and strikes the old man on the breast. The governor drops the glass and falls, holding his heart. With mixed feelings, the crowd draws near as Rosa's laughter goes on a crescendo. The finale is a song with the dying man on Severa's lap. Severa accepts this fate in resignation and the chorus prays for Patnubay's mercy. Before his life ends, Patnubay manages to tell the audience that Rosa is not to blame; it is he who is at fault.

The master-slave pattern is part of the structural scheme of "Panarak ni Rosa." Fully conscious that they belong to a higher level, Patnubay and Severa make people around them blind tools of their ambitions. Bubuyog is literally and figuratively a slave — he is given the treatment which even lower animals do not deserve; he starves, is beaten, shouted at. Leaving Patnubay's household is a release from this master-slave syndrome, the start of his search for a new life, his

rebirth. At least, he is more sensible than the governor's hangers-on and flatterers: the good-for-nothing Gat Buho, the conformist Gat Amen, the pretentious Gat Hangin, the unprincipled Simona. That Pulupot, Rosa, and Nenita retreated as slaves is profoundly recorded in their distressing story — the images of morbidity and gloom — revolvers, dagger, knives, the prison cell, the lonely voyage at sea, the aggravating role of the night hours which give encouragement for the kidnappers — those all help in presenting a distressing world.

The play contains allusions to contemporary life and politics in Ilagan's time. Characterization and passages sound like criticism of the socio-historical background of the era with the mention of the Philippine revolution, abusive friars, and damnable politicians. Even the type of government after the Spanish regime reflects the form of rule then in vogue wherein towns were under presidents (the counter-parts of today's mayors), the provinces under governors and the country as a whole under a governor-general. The cholera epidemic of 1882 which killed Pulupot's father is part of the country's history — many lives were really swept away by this devastating carnage. Election was a feast and a funeral — those who spent most liberally were victors; those who lacked money were headed for defeat. Naturally, there were those who put their investments at stake, for the expenses of their candidates, because they looked forward to a profitable reward when these candidates won.

Do dreams have a symbolic significance in the plot of the drama? Yes. But this significance is more affective rather than rational. For many dreams are charged with emotions, not monitoring of the rational type. In the past, dreams were

the source of narrative motifs in literary works, in myths, in fairy tales and legends. Dreams are a way of returning to the past, a way of achieving irrational conjunction of actions and objects. Among primitives, it is said, "dream happenings are often believed to have a reality equal, or even superior to that of waking events."¹⁶ A. B. Ellis¹⁷ is reported to have suggested that the presence of objects like clothing, rocks, bushes, weapons and other things in dreams proves that everything, objects not excluded, has a soul. Dreams afford us a link to the primitive past with all its concomitant features:

the vagueness of outlines, the chaotic shifts and mixtures of settings, the ambiguous identity of human figures, the uncomprehended juxtapositions of incidents, the unfocused dread which may accompany the appearance of objects and persons.¹⁸

To others, dreams are also a way of looking into the future — they give omens and presage things to come — a foreshadowing. From the primitive past and the Biblical times to the present, interpretations of dreams have been effected. Perhaps, this inception of dreams, of narrative springing from non-rational sources, adds to the convincing quality and aesthetic of literature. Ilagan's return to the past, through Bubuyog's dream (Act II, Scene VII) that he is held by no less than Venus, goddess of love who weeps for him, is symbolic and romantic. It is also a form of wish-fulfillment and a kind of subconscious reasoning. His dreaming of Venus may anticipate a happy marriage. Weeping in a dream is a sign that there will be cause for joy, a fortunate business venture, smoother family relations. Tears will not be lasting because a

turn of events for the better is at hand. Bubuyog representing the underdogs in the drama will soon liberate himself from the putrefying environment he is in. There may be chaos and decay in the past, but the past is still more beautiful than the present. Bubuyog's present is his despicable world with Patnubay and Severa; his past is his home in the Visayas. Later, in the drama, he decides to return to his native village where peace of mind and spiritual joy can be his again. By making him elect to be free, Ilagan expresses his own wish for the freedom of all men, especially the underlings. Of course, Bubuyog still has to achieve this, for it is still a dream.

One could only long for a return to the past in the midst of a gloomy present, and at the same time, hope for a better and brighter future. This division of time cannot really be separated for so closely intertwined are they to each other, that their influence on one another is inevitable. The contrast between them is drawn effectively by Ilagan. In the dream of Bubuyog, he relates to the chorus, upon waking up, that the thing holding him and crying is the cat. The cat is an intelligible reminder and contrast to his reality and his present — the kitchen where he rightfully belongs with cats and other pets.

The symbolic meaning of the dream in the play also finds affinity with the meaning of the prison cell where Pulupot and other law offenders are incarcerated — restricted in movements. It is hoped that after they shall have served their sentences and undergone an act of self-mortification and penitence, once again they will be free, treated like free men and women who are entitled to their own search for happiness.

The plot, strengthened by irony and contrast, is not devoid of the Aristotelian

requirements. Peripety which is the change of events from one state of things within the play to its opposite, part of a probable or necessary sequence of events, is present. Rosa's change from sanity to insanity also fulfills discovery from ignorance to knowledge, from love for fellowmen to hate. Her state of lunacy is similar to a spiritual awakening on the reverse, for ironically, when she is supposed to have lost her mind, she gains an insight into her other self — the brave, more intelligent self. Patnubay's illumination, though late, is a discovery which prepares him for suffering; he needs this for his own salvation. For he is the villain.

There can be dignity in failure as Pulupot has proved. He desires to save the people from being exploited; and fails. Accepting his defeat, he faces his sentence, bravely. Perhaps, it is another of life's, and fate's, ironies that he should accidentally kill an innocent man, one who could have been his son-in-law. Justice when meted out by the wrong hand strays along, and this Patnubay finally realizes. The drama almost rises to tragic heights. As it plumbs the depths, stretching distances to a vision of life, it surmounts the poignant agony and misery of the man, his exultation. Man's dignity may be made absurd by his own follies, but it is not completely lost though the struggles be futile. Pulupot is not flawless. Nor is Patnubay. Rosa is imperfect still in her near perfection. Her greatest attributes are love and respect for parents and fellowmen. She fully comprehends the demoniac character of Patnubay and this comprehension, though hopelessly, makes her demented. A scrutiny of her mental pathology provides the playwright's deft skill in portraying madness. Shaken by too many sad events of her childhood and early womanhood, her brain must have

been overpowered by the impact and weight of these vicissitudes. It cracks and Rosa does not recover her normality. Excitement, happiness, sorrow, anger overcrowd this brain and throw her into complete imbalance.

Rosas, Pulupots, Patnubays, and Severas and other characters inhabiting the Ilagan play may be real people in actual life. Realistic and non-realistic in approach, "Panarak ni Rosa" presents a frank view of realities about life with its attending struggles as Ilagan saw them. The very contrast and dichotomy between good and bad is as real in his society as they are in ours. Society's over-emphasis on outer appearances, material things, and "successful" politicians and executives towers over the humble, honest luminance and beauty of the inner truth.

The prisoners say they are happy and have no regrets. Perhaps this is just a defense mechanism to cover up their feelings of loneliness and remorse. Their facade shows courageous mettle, pride and strength and firmness. But denude the interior and you see the wound and the hurt. If the play is predominantly pessimistic and is faithful to the documentation of details characteristic of naturalism, the audience's long encounter with the prism and the malaise of Rosa's society, some moments of comic experience participate through the little man, the servant who becomes smaller than his actual size. Bubuyog could have been a greater person were it not for the sneering attitude of his masters. His amusing actions and words make him ridiculous, laughable, and there are occasions when he, too, laughs at himself. A sampling of this is found in Scenes IX and X, Act I. Within the hearing of Patnubay's bosom friends, Bubuyog admits that his usual culinary routine is only one chupa of rice;

hence, he has nothing to eat except the left-overs. When Patnubay asks him if he does not shudder with what he says, he answers:

Wala pong malamig na pawis na
sumisingao sa akin, kungdi pawang
mainit dahil sa pagod.

(No cold sweat comes out of me except
the hot one because of fatigue.)

Patnubay sends him away. "Sia, Sumulong ka na." (All right then, you go) and Bubuyog replies, ignorantly or at least pretending to be ignorant: "Saan po ako parçon?" (Where will I go?). Certainly, he knows where to go — back to his chores. But his dramatic function is not only to show contrast to his masters; he is also to evoke comic relief. His punning of words serves him in good stead. Scene VI of Act II has Gat Buho asking Bubuyog whom he is cursing. The answer is:

Nino? Noong mga Nino ng lahat ng Nino
at ng gaya mong kahit kutusan sa tuktok
ay hindi nalalaman kung sino ang Nino?
(Whose? Those of Who of all the Whose
and those like you Who, even if you
receive a knock on your head, will remain
not knowing Who is Whose.)

The repetition of some letters or words definitely enhances rhythm though, of course, it does not always move action forward.

Patnubay uses his position to abuse his power and take advantage of those lower than he. Corruption and gluttony make him companion to evil; love for human beings he is incapable of. He cares neither for Severa nor for Rosa — it is possession he wants. He can have anything at his command. In his amassing of wealth and other material things, he is not alone, but is ably complemented by his self-centered

wife who is even more corrupt than he. The downfall of other people is their joy — the impoverishment of others is the nourishment of their house. Between husband and wife, Patnubay is the greater hypocrite. Under the pretense of benevolence and goodness, he entices people with his words and favors those who give him the most. At least Severa, the more crude, is the lesser evil. She is more vocal in wheedling gifts and favors from people.

Life and experience in "Panarak ni Rosa" make theme and plot rich and solid. Sense of sin which dawns on man sooner or later is part of Ilagan's metier. No sinner gets by with his sin without his discovery of his crime and feeling sorry for it, or without his being punished for it. Do Ilagan's characters find the meaning of life? They do. By surmounting obstacles; by following the road to equality, justice, human compassion, understanding, love; by championing all that is good — they achieve happiness which no philistinism can give. For, Ilagan's definition of man, his general vision of life, and his commitment to the improvement of the social and cultural milieu, are stamped in his works.

In juxtaposition, Ilagan shows his insane heroine with so-called normal people, but such closeness only proves the great disparity between them. The normal ones seem to be more insane. Comparatively viewed, Patnubay's world is more insane than Rosa's. Rosa's claim, therefore, to our pity and sympathy becomes stronger; for we see her aggrieved and insulted, though sparingly understood. She and her sister suffer the brand of "criminal's daughters" and wherever they go, they carry this stigma. Sequestered, they are shunned by people, formerly their friends.

Hermogenes Ilagan's world takes a vivid view, for it is, indeed, a big, wide

world as in "Panarok ni Rosa." There are interaction and contradiction between inner reality and outer. There is the anguish in Rosa picturing a human condition which is not hers alone. In a smaller frame, it is Rosa's microcosm and all its inherent virtues and diseases — love, filial piety, greed. In a bigger frame, there is the macrocosm gripping us with the enormity of its content — prison, revolution, war, the countryside as contrasted to the city.

To Rosa, the world is one chaotic sphere, made darker by the paroxysm not only of human diseases but those that plague the universe on a big scale. The underlying theme is: the futility of life in the hands of covetous rulers. There is nothing beautiful in torment especially for the victim like Rosa, or Pulupot. Condemnable is the infinite wickedness of the inhuman forces, a callous machinery which surrounds them, represented by Patnubay and Severa and the members of their inner circle. Solitude is not marked by physical suffering alone but by moral suffering, and if life be a force, or a game, or a vain plaything, man hopes to rise above its framework. To exist, to live, one must struggle not necessarily for happiness, but for a truth which does not debase man's dignity. Put face to face against the forces of destruction, the obstacles, the blows and fears, man looks for that moment of joy and truth which give his life meaning, and structure, too.

Since life is indefinite, the future is indefinite, and that time of eternal truth is indefinite, Ilagan gives his characters — Rosa and Pulupot, especially — tension with which to strengthen their mettle. The master-slave relationship poses an overwhelming threat. The master becomes more masterful, aggressive, vicious; the slave becomes more oppressed, demeaned,

debased. Gat Amen always agrees and is very secure in agreeing, for *Amen* refers to "yes" in the Filipino context and "let it be done" in the religious sense. Hangin is "wind," and the wind is unpredictable — it blows mightily, strongly sometimes, though at other times it is tranquil. Gat Hangin is like the wind, up in the air, seldom planted on the ground. Gat Buho is like "buho," a young bamboo shoot, still extending upwards to grow, but empty within. And "bubuyog" is a bee, four-legged stinging insect, producing noise, honey and wax; it may be the source of both life and death. "Bubuyog" also refers to a poet or a busy worker. The servant Bubuyog stings with his speech and makes people around him feel really small. Co-existing in him is the destroyer-producer aspect. The bee destroys peace with its sound, it may also destroy human lives; and it produces honey and wax which are human needs. Rosa, both a human being and a symbol, is the ideal of all obedient, loving, and faithful daughters who sanctify love — be it filial or sensual love — and who would not surrender innocence to materialism. Simona is the female Simon, before Jesus named him Peter, impulsive and vacillating fisherman. Simona fishes for favors from Patnubay by acting as the go-between to influence Rosa's disposition. She is flattered to impulsiveness at times for being chosen to perform such a delicate task by the governor. Like rock, she gives support to Patnubay who leans on her.

Save for the fact that the play is rather talky at certain portions, specifically when Rosa or Pulupot think of their sad plight (like in the prison cell), "Panarak ni Rosa" is, in this writer's opinion, the most solid, most compact, and best work of Ilagan. It is also the most compelling though not the best known. In action which is more

unified, plot which is more solid, theme and content, it towers over all the other plays of Ilagan. Striking a note similar to those in his other works, it may be laden with anxiety and frustration, but does not leave the audience hopeless. Through this, one gets an insight into Ilagan's social history as he illustrates it and gives the Filipinos an artistic picture of the Philippines in the early part of the twentieth century, a slice-of-life as the playwright saw it.

Ilagan's Contribution to Philippine Drama and Theater

What kind of playwright is Hermogenes Ilagan? Ilagan is a versatile, prolific, innovative playwright, actor, director, producer — the total showman — writing over one hundred zarzuelas, and staging most of them with artistic and commercial success.

Much of the value of Ilagan's dramas lies in theme and style, in interplay with action and characterization as the dramas evolve extrinsically and intrinsically, comment forth on life, project life, call audience imagination, set up values and balance the poles of human behavior and habits.

In many cases, terseness of action and dialogues gives Ilagan's plays enough grounds to make them successful works when staged. For, the playwright can make action and conversation anticipate subsequent actions leading to strong motivations. Usually, plots are complex, as in "Panarak ni Rosa" where plot treads on several lines of action as the thematic relationship leads to the central issue that love and honor are brave and meet all impediments. Materials do come in climactic order, and as tension mounts, build-up and scene-after-scene develop-

ment move forward till climax is achieved. Present are paradoxical dialogues and rhetorical questions and the juxtaposed interplay of verbal irony and irony of manner. Enriching Ilagan's drama are contrasts in tone, scenes, and characterization, stimulating questions and with some touches of contradictions of sensibilities.

Time and again, Ilagan projects deft presentation of parallelism of actions. He also makes use of religion to sustain the moral issues of his plays, thus achieving dramatic intensity. Ilagan, propelled by rich imagination, can universalize themes not only through style but also through direct statements — effective interplay between the literary and dramatic personages. Through contrasts, action and interaction of and between characters, the play's movement is effected, and effected convincingly. Usually, he does not have too many characters; hence, the plot is unclogged by too many personages and gains strength through the complex relationship prevailing between people. And, while plot lends solidity, a sense of grace and time to the drama, dialogue and speech contribute their share by heightening or emphasizing of certain attitudes, actions and movements of characters, or by undertones and underplays on the part of the others.

In matter of contrasts, Ilagan visibly and vividly puts in juxtaposition two opposite poles such as idealism and worldliness, abundance and poverty, the ethereal and the material, good and evil. He shows the blurring effects wrought by too much premium given to money that the beauty of the human soul is defaced. Ilagan's skillful way of handling ironies — in situations, words, and images is evinced and the audience gains awareness of tension in the play and a moment of awakening and enlightenment. A striking

irony in "Panarak ni Rosa" is that money can buy many things, almost everything in fact, but it cannot buy true love, and honor. The conflict between good and evil, spiritual and material, love and hate, and the ironies they encounter are clearly spelled, too, in either literal or figurative manifestations.

Compelling and touching is the contrast between the supposed normal world dominated by the corrupt Patnubay and the abnormal world inhabited by Rosa. For the play's power and intensity greatly draw from the naturalistic treatment of persons, places, things, and events, allowing an aggrieved person to kill the oppressor, but proving to all and sundry that one should not take the law in his own hands.

Many a time, themes of jealousy, honor, free will, the theological phases of doctrine, and the ever-intriguing questions of what is reality breathe in the pages of Ilagan's dramas. And, sometimes, man realizes the beauty of the good only after experiencing evil. This occurs to Rosa who stabs Patnubay in order to avenge the inhumanity he has inflicted on people, most especially on her family.

Ilagan clearly infuses tears and laughter in his works, records insights and impressions he gathers of life. And, these he does especially with deft handling of suspense not only through dialogue but also through incidents. In the manner of Alan Reynolds Thompson where melodrama evokes thrills — thrills of suspense, thrills of superstition, thrills of cruelty, and thrills of identification — "Panarak ni Rosa" has affinity.

The impact of the social conscience of Ilagan is discernible most especially through the use of satire, irony, wit, and humor. And, as he evinces this rare social conscience, he also manifests an admixture of the sense of historicity and moral order.

With a living faith in freedom from the shackles and stultifying frames of falsity and violence, Ilagan shows his sympathy for the oppressed and the underdog. If the rich equates money with power, he becomes blinded by its glitter and ignores the genuine beauty of love and honor. People's nature is put to a test, and their true color emerges.

As Ilagan artistically interweaves and blends the influences of realistic and non-realistic techniques, he time and again makes use of things and even people both as objects and as symbols. "Panarak ni Rosa" excels in its symbolic use of names for certain characters, sometimes ironical, but just the same effective in portraying the sad plight of a family that falls prey, animal-like, to the cruel hands of powerful, influential lords.

Regarding dialogue, Ilagan is sometimes carried away by long, pithy sentences, as when he presents a hero or a heroine languishing in distress. When all else seems to wane and life hankers for some light, the character, pushed by seemingly unsurmountable and problematic conditions, bursts into a long soliloquy or a lengthy song. This is exceptionally true of Pulupot while he suffers in prison.

Let not Ilagan be accused of logomachy. For, generally, he gives the audience an insight into his characters not through lengthy descriptions or dialogues, but through their own appearances, behavior — action and reaction — speech, facial expressions, gestures, and also from what is not said or done. This economy of words, strikingly characteristic of Ilagan's stage directions and descriptions, contributes to the lasting values of his art.

And, while Ilagan can depict man and his environment in the most sordid of their realities and the tensest of their frustrations, he does not leave the audience

hopeless, but endows it with a new insight into a better life. Ilagan's vision of man, and of life, has made his art truly meritorious and lasting. Indeed, his affirmation that man may be defeated, but all is not lost, for he will plumb depths and soar heights, and redeem himself from life's abyss and gutters, gives positive proofs of a man whose love for life sustains him up to the end.

"Panarak ni Rosa," this writer believes, is the most solid, most compact, most compelling, and the best and most artistically woven, though not the most popular of Ilagan's plays. Its unified action, its solid plot, its rich theme and content, its affirmation of man's worth — all these make the work very durable. This, and Ilagan's other zarzuelas, have etched for the playwright a worthy place in Philippine arts and letters and in Philippine dramaturgy.

Ilagan is not only a consummate artist, but one who, while true to his art, also serves as creator, purveyor, and preserver of culture and communicator of social values. His role towards the crystallization of what many critics call the "Golden Age of Philippine Drama," actually the "Golden Age of Philippine Zarzuela," truly contributed to make Ilagan deserve the title "Father of Tagalog Zarzuela."

Ilagan is an artist who has communicated his social values through his drama. If he wrote in an emblematic way, it was because he was influenced by the social milieu he also helped shape. His own personal touch could be felt from the characters and situations he had woven where irony and satire shone as part of his principal tools.

Ilagan had his strengths and weaknesses, and though variety may not be indwelling in his style or stamp, for such is the very temper of the zarzuela, it

leaning more towards melodramatic strands, Ilagan's strength lies in dissecting the realm of contemporary social reality, his reality — both internal and external. He is strong, too, when he digresses on the values of life and love through his plays which saw life in the medium of the stage. Of course, Ilagan was quite conversant with the fermentation of new thoughts and the ushering in of new cultural horizons brought by trends in literature and dramaturgy coming from the West, notably Spain. And, he in turn has cast his influences on his peers and followers alike. To Ilagan, playwriting and play production are responsible activities attuned to the pulse of the people — they need not be divorced from the attitudes of the people, be they liberal or not.

Temperamentally, Ilagan is fit to write and stage plays in both tragic and comic manners. It is worthwhile to note that he wrote about one hundred zarzuelas, but many of the scripts were ravaged by the Second World War. Poverty may have been one of the evils he faced and wrote about, but he was able to surface above it, and he managed to maintain a big family without debts. When he died, he had no accounts to settle. Abuses of the rich was one topic he splendidly explored. He would even go poetic when he delved on this theme. He was a social reformer of sorts, trying to find ways to remedy poverty and insecurity. He spoke eloquently in defense of labor. Indeed the social conditions sent a startling message through Ilagan's pen and stage. Unable to escape the commitment of a moralist, time and again, he pointed out certain truths which his readers and audiences could not elude. Antiquated laws, irresponsibility of citizens, corruption of public officials — hatred for them is inculcated in people's minds through both serious and comic

veins.

The build-up in an Ilagan play may occasionally be slow, if one thinks of playwriting and play production in the modern sense, but this gives him enough room for emphasis and a full character development with three-dimensional living perspective. It also allows the playwright to gain the attention of his audience by allowing room for directness, emphasis, ironies, arguments. A look at Ilagan's output reveals the prominence that he gave to the lawyers who defend the victims of injustice, and those very victims themselves and to the general thesis that the human race will survive only if men and women are treated like human beings.

Old-fashioned are Ilagan's techniques of dramaturgy as contrasted to those of modern-day trends.

The type of Ilagan's drama is a mixture of tragi-comedy and melodrama. As

regards particular styles, Ilagan's drama has the combination of realistic, naturalistic, romantic, expressionistic, and symbolic.

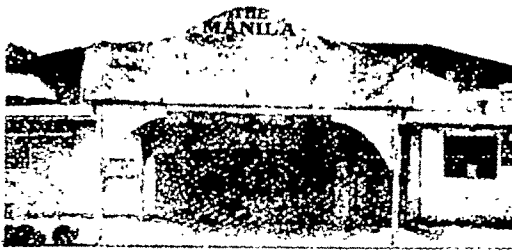
Ilagan's works should be read and occasionally revived to afford present-day readers and theater-goers a revisiting of the past which illustrates norms of conduct not exactly identical with those of the present. For, in Ilagan's drama and theater are felt the Filipino ethos which pulsated in the early part of the twentieth century. Indeed, Ilagan has reminded us, the audience, the readers, the theater-lovers what Motokiyo Zeami, the originator of the Japanese Noh play, said: "The purpose of all art is to bring sweetness to the hearts of all people and to harmonize high and low." Ilagan has helped bring sweetness to the hearts of people, and through his art, has harmonized high and low.

NOTES

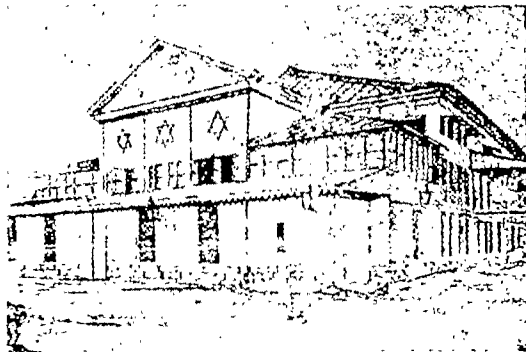
1. C. Fernandez-Luna, *La Zarzuela*, Temas Españoles, N. 128. (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1954, p. 4.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Phyllis Hartnoll (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre* (3rd ed., 1967), 1024.
5. George Tyler Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 327.
6. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, 1025.
7. Fernandez-Luna, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
8. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, *loc. cit.*
9. Isagani R. Cruz, *A Short History of Theatre in the Philippines* (Manila: Imelda R. Marcos, 1971), p. 129.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
11. Rosalinda L. Orosa, "Babaylan rediscovers a theater," *Philippines Daily Express*, November 17, 1973, p. 13.
12. *Ibid.*

13. Constantin Stanislavski, *An Actor Prepares*, Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood, trans. (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1958), p. 284.
14. John Gassner, "The Dramatic Vision," *Dramatic Soundings* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1968), pp. 109-19.
15. Ferdinand Brunetière as quoted by John Gassner in *Producing the Play*, rev. ed. (New York: The Dryden Press, 1955), p. 16.
16. Wayne Shumaker, *Literature and the Irrational* (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1966), p. 120.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, p. 121.





In the early days of the American occupation, N. T. Hashim had a velodrome built for bicycle races. Later, the velodrome was converted into a theater and named Teatro Nacional. It was reconstructed and its name changed to Manila Grand Opera House. It was here where the first National Assembly was inaugurated by Taft.



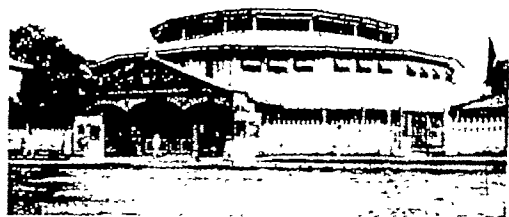
The Teatro Español, on Azcarraga street, was constructed between 1860 and 1861, with a capacity of about 1000. It was the public's favorite and here the best opera companies, which visited the country at the time, performed.



Scene from a "Moro Moro" play, a rustic delight.



The old Teatro de Bilibid, which began as a bull-fight arena and then became by turns a theatre, a cockpit and finally a cigar and cigarette factory. It was situated on the corner of Azcarraga and Evangelista. Opened in 1866, it was the first in the Philippines to have a gasometer.



The Zorilla theater on Calle Azcarraga and Evangelista, Inaugurated August 17, 1893.



A theater during the Spanish regime.

The Theme of Justice in Yuan Drama

Wayne Lee

The theme of justice is a major consideration in thirteen works of Yüan drama which have been translated into English. In some plays justice is the focus of attention; in others, it plays a secondary role and aids in the development of the plot. Why this great concern in Yüan drama that people receive what they justly deserve? Liu Jung-en, who compiled the anthology *Six Yüan Plays*, theorized that the myriad of injustices perpetrated on the Chinese people by their Mongol conquerors from 1280 to 1369 A.D. prompted dramatists to react against this oppression in the only way they knew how. Thus, creating situations in which justice triumphed gratified a social need which could not be satisfied in real life.¹ Whether this psycho-historical theory is valid is for psychologists and historians to substantiate. However, regardless of why Yüan playwrights devised such dramas, what they had to say about justice can be examined.

ASPECTS OF JUSTICE

The Kinds of Justice. The Yüan plays provide a multi-faceted picture of justice; each dramatist viewed this ideal from his own perspective and employed justice for his own objectives. As a result, divergent

forms of justice are presented in these plays.

A good number of the thirteen plays deals with criminal justice. In "The Chalk Circle," for instance, the murder of the heroine's husband is the central event in the development of the plot. Eventually, the guilty are brought to justice through the agency of the imperial government and its representative Judge Pao, who conducts an official inquiry into the matter. A story of crime and punishment is, therefore, recounted in this and other Yüan plays.

Non-criminal justice is also considered in Yüan drama. This type of justice can be classified into two types, neither of which requires the workings of the official governmental apparatus for meting out justice. The first type centers on personal revenge as demonstrated in "The Orphan of Chao" by Chi Chün-hsiang. In this play a vendetta between the civil official Chao Tun and the army general Tu-an Ku leads to the extermination of Chao and 300 of his clansmen. Only one member of Chao's family escapes the slaughter, the grandson. As the story progresses, Tu-an is tricked into thinking that the orphan of Chao is someone else; ironically, the general adopts this grandchild of his former enemy, and teaches him every military skill until the

latter's prowess excels his own. By the end of the play, the orphan learns who he really is from a friend of Chao Tun, and he succeeds in avenging the decimation of his family by Tu-an.

Augmenting this eventual act of justice are episodes of how earlier plots of the ruthless general to dispose of Chao Tun were foiled by men of conscience and rectitude; these episodes are found in the wedge which prefaces the main story. In one instance, an assassin hired by Tu-an killed himself by running into a tree rather than execute his mission. A second, more nefarious plot, which was designed to discredit Chao in the eyes of the emperor, involved a ferocious dog conditioned by Tu-an to attack and mangle Chao in the emperor's presence; the general had convinced the monarch that the beast had an innate power to discern traitors. This scheme failed, however, when an officer, who became incensed by the attack, slew the dog before it could harm Chao; Chao, in the meantime, made his escape from the palace with the aid of a man he once saved from starving to death. Moreover, after Tu-an has received his just punishment, the orphan rewards Ch'eng Ying by adopting him into the Chao family. This individual was the man most responsible for saving the grandson from the malicious designs of Tu-an; Ch'eng even sacrificed his only son in order that the orphan might live to carry out his vengeance. By being adopted, Ch'eng's portrait would hang in the Chao family temple and his needs in the after-life would be provided for when he died.

The second type of non-criminal justice is seen in the Yüan plays of romance. "The Romance of the Western Chamber" by Wang Shih-fu and "The Soul of Ch'ien-nü Leaves Her Body" by Cheng Teh-hui involve injustices committed by

the mothers of the girls against the young lovers. In "The Romance of the Western Chamber," Mrs. Ts'ui reneges on her promise to wed her daughter to whoever saves them from a horde of bandits; the desire of Scholar Chang, whose plan succeeds in rescuing them, to marry his beloved thus suffers a cruel setback. The hopes of romance also meet with disappointment in "The Soul of Ch'ien-nü Leaves Her Body." When Scholar Wang appears to claim the bride betrothed to him in his childhood, the mother of Chang Ch'ien-nü adds the stipulation that Wang first pass the imperial examinations, and thus gain a government position as three generations of Changs had done. Because the young men and girls in both plays have no tribunal in which they can present their cases, they suffer anguish and despondence for a while. In the end, however, the young scholars succeed in marrying their beloved, and everything ends on a just and happy note.

In contrast to these two romantic plays of non-criminal justice are "Rain on Wu-t'ung Tree" by Pi Jen-fu and "Autumn in Han Palace" by Ma Chih-yüan. In both of these plays the Chinese emperor is deprived of his favorite concubine through circumstances beyond his control, and his consort suffers a tragic death. "Rain on Wu-t'ung Tree" is a dramatic version of the famous romance between Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty and Yang Kuei-fei, and the hapless denouement of their relationship effected by the emperor's mutinous guards as they flee the rebellious army of An Lu-shan.

"Autumn in Han Palace" also ends on a note of profound melancholy, as the blissful love between Emperor Yüan and his concubine Wang Chao-chün is brought to an abrupt end by the ultimatum of the Hsiung-nu chieftain for Wang as his bride.

Realizing that to refuse the demand would lead to war, the emperor has no choice but to yield his favorite to the chieftain. Before she arrives at the Hsiung-nu camp, however, she throws herself into a river and drowns. In these plays, then, love is intruded upon, and turns precipitously and hopelessly into grief.

Besides being criminal or non-criminal, justice extends to two separate jurisdictions, and is human or non-human. In plays such as "The Orphan of Chao" and "The Chalk Circle," the concern is for justice in human affairs. Injustices are committed by people against other people; hence, everything is worked out to an equitable conclusion in the world of men. However, in "Chang Boils the Sea" by Li Hao-ku, the focus is on justice in the affairs of immortals. For the offense of falling in love, the Gold Immortal Page and the Jade Immortal Maiden are banished by a high-ranking immortal to the world of men, where the two must atone for their sin. When they make amends for their transgression, apparently by their falling in love as humans and realizing that such love is an illusion of the "World of Dust and its Boundless Bitter Sea,"² the page and the maiden are re-admitted to the world of immortals. Justice, therefore, reigns in both the domain of mortals and in the realm of immortals.

Moreover, justice can be merciful or merciless. "A Dream of Butterflies" by Kuan Han-ch'ing is a play about Judge Pao who, in rendering a judicial decision, opts for clemency rather than strict application of the law. Having had a dream in which he saves a butterfly from the meshes of a spider's web and in which he finds himself wondering,

The untoward befalls even insects;
Is man, then, master of his own fate?³

Judge Pao applies the lesson of his dream to the case of a boy involved in the killing of a noble who had his horse trample the boy's father to death. While the law required that "the killer forfeits his life,"⁴ the judge regards his dream as a Heaven-sent instruction to be merciful in this case, and the boy is released. In the other plays dealing with criminal justice, however, the guilty receive the severest penalty the law permits. For example, in "The Chalk Circle" the murderess and her lover-accomplice are sentenced to a tortuous, ignominious death of being cut into twenty-four pieces in a public place.

The Mechanics of Justice. In addition to presenting justice in its various forms, the Yüan plays describe different ways in which justice is effected. The avenue most commonly resorted to is the regular judicial process. As depicted, for example, in "The Ghost of the Pot," due process in a murder trial involves the making of an accusation by one party, torture or beating of the accused to extract a confession, the signing of a confession by the guilty, the sentencing of the convicted, and the execution of the judge's sentence. Through such means, the law and the courts bring about justice.

An irregular course for obtaining justice is shown in "Rain on Wu-t'ung Tree." The soldiers escorting the fleeing emperor kill the prime minister Yang Kuo-chung, whom they suspect of treasonous dealings with the barbarian Turfans. Furthermore, the prime minister's cousin Yang Kuei-fei is accused of causing the An Lu-shan rebellion by the guards, who also act as her judge. Finding her guilty without the benefit or the formality of a trial, they demand her life and prevail upon the emperor to have her executed; their demands for justice are thus satisfied. Under these circumstances, therefore, the

soldiers and not Chinese judicial procedure dictate the manner in which justice is best served.

Justice also operates through the agency of human perspicacity. In "A Stratagem of Interlocking Rings" the court minister Wang Yün manipulates the affection of a general Lū Pu for his wife, and deceives Lū into thinking that his wife is coveted by Tung Cho, the treasonous prime minister who is also Lū's foster-father. By nurturing this hostility between Lū and Tung, Wang effects the doom of the scheming, would-be usurper. In addition, the way in which Tung is duped into leaving his home and going to what he believes is his coronation but what actually turns out to be his trial for treason displays human quick-wittedness in the service of justice.

Human wisdom, on the other hand, is the vehicle by which justice is obtained in another play, "The Chalk Circle" by Li Ch'ien-fu. In this drama Judge Pao is faced with the task of determining whether Mrs. Ma or the second Mrs. Ma, Hai-t'ang, is the real mother of the boy who will inherit the wealth of his murdered father. In order to discover the truth, Judge Pao employs the test of the chalk circle, which is designed to reveal which of the two women the child regards as his genuine mother. The test is hardly fool-proof, however, as the judge misreads the results at first, only after Hai-t'ang explains why she did not contend for the boy, as the test requires, does the judge realize who the true mother is, and passes judgment on the case. Justice is thus effected through the sagacity of the judge.

Supernatural forces, too, operate to bring about a just conclusion after an injustice has occurred. In "The Wrong Done to Tou Ngo" by Kuan Han-ch'ing, extraordinary, preternatural phenomena

take place to signify that a grave miscarriage of justice has transpired; namely, the execution of Tou Ngo for a crime she did not commit. Just as she predicts before being beheaded, her blood does not splatter the ground at the moment of decapitation but instead splashes onto a piece of white silk tied high atop a pole; snow falls out of the summer sky and blankets the area up to a depth of three feet; and a drought lasting three years afflicts the district. Later, the ghost of Tou Ngo appears before her father, who was away at the capital when she was tried and who has since become an imperial censor with the power to review legal cases. Convincing him that her case merits a rehearing, she appears at the retrial and coerces the real murderer to confess his guilt; as a result her name is cleared. Through such ultra-mundane means, then, justice results in the end.

For the most part, however, the role of humans is more indispensable to the effective operation of justice than the contributions made by other-worldly forces. People make justice work; conversely, people make injustice happen.

Judge Pao in "The Chalk Circle," "The Ghost of the Pot," and "A Dream of Butterflies" and Tou Ngo's father in "The Wrong Done to Tou Ngo" are men whose duty it is to administer the law, protect the innocent, and punish the malevolent. On the other hand, Prefect Evilbrute in "The Wrong Done to Tou Ngo" and Governor Su-shun in "The Chalk Circle" are more interested in the price of justice rather than the cause of justice, and render favorable judgments to those who pay the most. Thus, unscrupulous officials such as these promote their own interests at the expense of justice. However, they are eventually punished by upright officials, and justice triumphs in

spite of the former.

Besides justice served by government officials, it is also upheld by outlaws. In "Li K'uei Carries Thorns" by K'ang Chin-chih, the bandit chieftain Li K'uei assumes the duty of restoring the daughter of a wine-shop owner to him and of punishing the culprits who abducted her; Li makes this promise despite the fact that the alleged kidnapper is Sung Chiang, the ringleader of the robber band to which Li belongs. In carrying out his charge, Li K'uei almost forfeits his life when he loses a wager with Sung; this bet requires Li's beheading if his charge against Sung proves false. However, Li manages to redeem his life by capturing the real abductors, who are sentenced to death by Sung.

Moreover, justice works because of the sacrifices made by others; such sacrifices even include the forfeiture of innocent lives for the sake of a fair, equitable outcome. In "The Orphan of Chao," the retired court official and friend of Chao Tun, Kung-sun Ch'u-chiu collaborates with the Chao family physician Ch'eng Ying in a plan to substitute Ch'eng's son for the orphan, and thus deceive the villain Tu-an into believing that the elderly official is harboring the "orphan." Their stratagem works, with the tragic result that both Kung-sun and Ch'eng's son die for the sake of the Chaos. In allowing his only son to be killed in lieu of the last of the Chaos, Ch'eng Ying not only ensures that the Chao family will be avenged eventually but also is able to repay past kindnesses to the Chaos. Besides Kung-sun and Ch'eng Ying's son, General Han Ch'ueh, who is a subordinate of Tu-an but an old friend of Chao Tun, is given the responsibility by his superior for preventing the child from escaping from Tu-an's clutches.

Nonetheless, he does allow Ch'eng Ying to flee with the orphan. Although General Han is aware that he has irrevocably jeopardized his own life by doing so, he is glad to assist the Chao family in gaining its revenge on Tu-an.

In other plays, the cause of justice requires the help of others but not sacrifices on their part. Hai-t'ang in "The Chalk Circle" relies on the help of her brother and on the impartiality of Judge Pao to obtain justice; but neither of these men must become martyrs in order that justice be done. Similarly, Chang the Headstrong in "The Ghost of the Pot" need not relinquish anything for the sake of Yang's ghost receiving justice; Chang suffers blows and the indignity of being thrown out of court, but nothing beyond this.

The Settings for Justice. Generally speaking, the stories of justice in the Yüan plays are serious, austere, grave. The commission of a crime and the inquiry into the guilt or innocence of those implicated in the crime are treated as grim, somber matters. A sense of the dread and solemnity which the business of justice can generate is seen in the song the boy's mother sings as she enters the tribunal in "A Dream of Butterflies." The woman is so overcome by the beatings and punishments which law officials can impose on the accused, and by the fearful surroundings in which she finds herself that she is "shaken by her heart's palpitations"⁵ and her "... soul has fled its seat."⁶

"The Ghost of the Pot" is an exception to this rule, however; instead, justice is served in a situation of farcical, sometimes vulgar, comedy. The play tells the story of Yang Kuo-yung, who is murdered by Chao the Jug and his wife, and of his quest for justice. After his body is cremated by

the couple, his bones are pulverized and mixed with clay to make a pot. This pot is then given to Chang the Headstrong, an acquaintance of Chao, who plans to use it as a chamber pot. Discovering, after a humorous episode, that the ghost of Yang inhabits the pot and that Yang was the victim of a diabolical deed, Chang carries the pot to the local tribunal, where the ghost can seek redress of grievances. The comedy climaxes in this scene, as Chang requests Judge Pao to let the ghost address the court; when Chang taps thrice on the pot to signal the ghost that it can "rattle off" its story, Yang says nothing. Chang is thus left there standing speechless and feeling foolish. The judge, thinking that he is the victim of a nonsensical prank, has Chang beaten and tossed out of the court. This happens twice, each time after which Chang berates the ghost for failing to rattle off its story. The first time, the ghost explains that at the crucial moment it was to lodge its accusation, it got thirsty and went looking for a cup of tea; the second time, it became hungry and went in search of a roast bun. In spite of these farcical foul-ups, however, the ghost of the pot eventually makes its complaint against the murderers, and its plea for justice is satisfied.

The Consequences of Justice. When justice is rendered in Yüan drama, its effects are clearly delineated at the end of the play. In most cases, the dispensing of justice ostensibly affects only a few; the innocent are vindicated and the guilty are punished. In "The Wrong Done to Tou Ngo," for instance, Tou Ngo's name is cleared and her soul is then able to rest in peace. The real murderer is condemned to be quartered and beheaded. The corrupt magistrate Evilbrute, who wrongfully sentenced Tou Ngo to death, is

sentenced to be whipped and permanently barred from future service in the government. Justice thus results in proper consequences for the guiltless and the culpable, and is confined to these few. Moreover, as in "The Ghost of the Pot," those who assist in the promotion of justice are rewarded. Chang the Headstrong gets a half of Chao the Jug's property for aiding the ghost of Yang to obtain justice.

On the other hand, the rendering of justice can have grave political overtones, as in "A Stratagem of Interlocking Rings" and "The Orphan of Chao." If the plot of Wang Yün to turn Lū Pu against the villainous Tung Cho had failed, Tung would have seized the throne and established himself as the emperor of China. However, because his treachery is brought to light, Tung is condemned to be executed and his body to be burnt at the crossroads as a warning to all. In this way the House of Han is maintained on the throne as the rightful ruler of the empire. Similarly, in "The Orphan of Chao" the ambitious general Tu-an is prevented from usurping the throne as a secondary result of the orphan's gaining his revenge on him. Because they are brought to justice, then, the empire of China is spared from falling into the hands of wicked, would-be despots.

Conversely, Yüan drama shows what happens when men fail to implement standards of justice in human affairs. In "Rain on Wu-t'ung Tree," the emperor disregards the advice of his ministers and spares An Lu-shan, who, according to the law, should be executed for failing to complete a military mission; the emperor apparently reaches his decision arbitrarily. Moreover, Emperor Hsüan-tsung on a whim decides to appoint An as imperial chancellor, but changes his mind when the

prime minister Yang Kuo-chung protests. Nonetheless, the emperor is determined to show his favor towards An, and designates him as commander of all forces along the frontier. . . an appointment which allows An to muster his strength and attack the House of T'ang. Through his disregard for the law and justice, and his folly, therefore, Emperor Hsüan-tsung brings calamity upon the empire and upon himself.

While justice is portrayed as being significant in the lives of individuals and to the political welfare of the empire, a different view of justice is presented in the dream-like play, "The Yueh-yang Tower" by Ma Chih-yuan. The main role in this play is that of Lü Tung-pin, a Taoist immortal who transforms the Willow Spirit and the Plum Spirit into two humans, Kuo Ma-erh and Ho La-mei, so that they can gain immortality. Thirty years later, after the two have married and forgotten what they originally were, Lü returns to earth in order to effect their passage into the world of Taoist immortals. In trying to convince Kuo to leave this world, Lü urges him to kill his wife, and gives him a sword for the task. Kuo thinks Lü is crazy, but takes the sword anyway for use in cutting vegetables. Later that night, Kuo discovers that his wife has been murdered with the sword, and rouses the local officials to search for Lü. Once he is located, Kuo pursues Lü until the latter is captured and brought to face a judge. At this point Lü produces Kuo's wife, who is alive and unharmed, and a pantheon of Taoist immortals appear. After Kuo is enlightened as to his origin and the purpose of his becoming a human, he is then admitted to immortality. The "crime" and justice thus serve a very ephemeral, fantasy-like role in this play.

CONCLUSION

What is justice, then, according to these Yüan plays?

In the sphere of transgressions of law, to which it primarily applies, justice is rewarding the virtuous, punishing the violative, avenging the wronged, and vindicating the reproachless. Justice in such matters is perfect and all-encompassing; every innocent just as every culprit is subject to it. Nor can anyone be dissatisfied with the rulings of justice, because they are unbiased and impartial; this, however, does not preclude justice from being subject to mercy when there is a good cause. Moreover, justice is effected by remarkable, exceptional individuals — leader figures — whether such leaders are of this world or beyond this world, whether they are within the law or outside the law; as "Li K'uei Carries Thorns" depicts, justice can be served by those who, in the normal course of events, are the quarry of justice and its agents. The average, ordinary man might assist in the cause of justice, as may ghosts and spirits; but it is the personages of fortitude and integrity who must bring matters to their ultimate and just resolutions. It is because of such figures that,

the law of the land knows no favor,

.....

The law is here for those in need.

Therefore, whenever crimes and misdeeds occur, and matters are not as they should be, justice operates to restore everything to a state of equity and rightness.

While justice is able to rectify matters when the laws of men and immortals are breached, it cannot, however, correct all the wrongs and injustices in life. Sometimes, justice prevails after people have harmed the good name or the person of others; but, at other times, justice is unable to prevent man-made adversity from

befalling the guiltless and human folly from precipitating disasters. Neither can justice, in some cases, provide consolation after misfortune has occurred. Therefore, unjust as it may seem, the blameless are subject to tragedy, and can do very little about this situation.

In contrast to this mundane perspective on justice is the Taoist view, which regards justice as of little import. As "The Yüeh-yang Tower" suggests, justice in the affairs of this world is inconsequential because what appears to be fact is not fact at all. Men are blind to the truth; their intellects are benighted. Therefore, to seek justice

is a fruitless — even foolish — endeavor. Instead of chasing after the valueless and meaningless, therefore, one should seek the Tao and thus attain an immortality justice cannot provide.

These plays thus present the reality and the ideal, the operations and the limitations of justice as it was known in the Chinese experience and in the Chinese perception of life. While these views on justice had their significance for the Chinese of the Yüan Dynasty, they can also be meaningful to men of other eras.

NOTES

1. Liu Jung-en, *Six Yüan Plays*. Great Britain, 1962, p. 28-29.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
3. H.C. Chang, *Chinese Literature*. Edinburgh, 1973, p. 67.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
7. George A. Hayden's translation of "The Ghost of the Pot." *Renditions*, No. 3, Autumn 1974, p. 52.

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Renditions, No. 3, Autumn 1974, p. 32-52.



Three Interpretations of Mencian Morality in T'ang Times (Part II)

Chun-chieh Huang

(黃俊傑)

III. MENCIAN MORALITY AS CONCEIVED BY P'I JIH-HSIU

Han Yü's elevation of Mencius was echoed by P'i Jih-hsiu who lived a half century later than Han. A man of obscure origin,⁷¹ P'i Jih-hsiu became a prominent literatus and a realist poet. A "presented scholar" degree holder, he was appointed Adjunct Secretary in Charge of Redaction and Professor at the National University in 877. In the days of the Huang Ch'ao (黃巢, ?-884) rebellion, P'i served the rebellious leader as a Han-lin Academician in the capital Ch'ang-an (881-83). He died in 883 when the Huang Ch'ao rebellion was suppressed.⁷² That P'i Jih-hsiu was an outstanding classical-prose stylist is well acknowledged by historians of literature.⁷³ However, equal attention should be directed to P'i's position in intellectual history. Such an examination may begin with a discussion of his perception of Mencian morality for he regarded it as a superb weapon to cope with the challenge of Taoism and Buddhism, a major issue of his age as he saw it.

Mencian Morality as a Counter System of Taoism

In 863, P'i Jih-hsiu submitted a memorial petitioning for the use of the *Mencius* as an official text for the civil-service examination. Although P'i's suggestion was not adopted by the throne, the memorial is important for it is the earliest extant document attempting to disseminate Mencian thought among the educated people through the channel of the civil-service examination. And it was a pronounced effort aiming at eliminating the influence of Taoism which was already weakened in the latter half of the ninth century. Thus, this document deserves full quotation:⁷⁴

The Way of the Sage (i.e., Confucius) does not lie beyond the classics. What is second to the classics is no more than the histories. What is second to the histories is no more than the philosophers' writings. Among the philosophers, he who does not depart from the Way is Mencius. Without this philosopher, one's study will certainly fall astray from the classics and his-

tories. Moreover, those who neglect Mencius are traitors of the Sage.

The writings of Mencius are as illustrious as other Confucian classics and their commentaries. Because Heaven had compassion upon his Way, his book was not burnt by the Ch'in Dynasty. Upon receiving the *Mencius*, the Han House once (regularly) established an Erudite (*po-shih* 博士) for it to make it a special field of learning. Therefore, its text was continued among the Six Arts⁷⁵ and shined among the hundred philosophers. It is truly the subtle doctrine of a Sage. If this is the case, why was his doctrine so splendid in the past but his book so obscure in later times? Is it not because his doctrine adheres to the truth and his prose reaches the profound, so those who are fond of heresy dislike the upright and do not promote it, and those who love superficiality belittle the profound and therefore do not mention it? Confucius adored King Wen (1171-1122 B.C.) and was fond of the calamus for its flavor. Later men who loved Confucius was (accordingly) fond of the *Mencius*. Alas, ancient scholars who considered Kings T'ang (1751-1739 B.C.) and Wu (r. 1121-1116 B.C.) to be usurpers must have not read the *Mencius*. Those who considered Yang Chu (440-360 B.C.) and Mo Ti (fl. 479-438 B.C.) to be supreme wise men must have not read the *Mencius*. In this perspective, the extent to which Mencius benefits mankind is indeed not slight. Nowadays, apart from the officials who are designated *mao-ts'ai*⁷⁶ and *ming-ching*,⁷⁷ there are those who major in the *Chuang Tzu* and *Lieh Tzu* and who pass the examinations. Although the aim of inducing goodness is fine, it is not a correct way to conduct the examinations. The writings of the *Chuang Tzu* and *Lieh Tzu* are frivolous. In reading them, one may become a religious man. In practicing them, one may become a man of the primeval era. There are those who are anxious to save the age and to support the (Confucian)

teachings. Your servant ventures to request Your Majesty to order officials to eliminate the books of *Chuang Tzu* and *Lieh Tzu* and to treat the *Mencius* as the primary text. Those who are versed in the meanings of the *Mencius* should be selected by examination and esteemed as of the *ming-ching* degree holders. If this is done, they will not be inferior to the Erudites of the Han. If my suggestion is put into practice but the Confucian Way still ceases to prevail and the influence of the Sage still ceases to make up our deficiencies, Your Majesty may punish the one who makes this suggestion.

In the above memorial submitted to Emperor I-tsung (r. 860-873), P'i Jih-hsiu presented Mencian morality as a counter system against Taoism. The intellectual reason for P'i's use of Mencius can be explained in terms of his perception of morality. Incidentally, it should be noted that since P'i did not produce a commentary on the *Mencius* he did not elaborate Mencian morality in detail. Nevertheless, the way in which he considered the moral issues can be discerned. A close reading of his *Literary March of Mr. P'i* (*P'i Tzu wen-sou* 皮子文藪, completed in 866) shows that P'i conceived moral issues in a Confucian perspective. "The moral influence of the sages was begun with the Three August Rulers, perfected with the Five Emperors, and established by the Duke of Chou and Confucius," P'i Jih-hsiu said, "Its content is the Way, the virtue, benevolence and righteousness. Its forms are the *Books of Poetry, History, Rites and Music*."⁷⁸ Since he conceived morality in the Confucian point of view, it was difficult for him to accept the Taoist teachings, especially the Taoist preoccupation with self as an element independent of social involvement. Furthermore, since P'i

regarded Mencius as one who inherited Confucian thought, it is not surprising that he saw in Mencius a weapon to offset the Taoist influence in education.

The second aspect of P'i's thought is his restorationism — restorationism in the sense that he called for a direct return to the early Confucian moral world. It has been observed that dominant in P'i's prose is the formulaic structure of "in ancient times . . . , today" which is common in both the *Analects* and the *Mencius*.⁷⁹ Throughout his corpus, P'i often argued the superiority of the ancient customs and habits over its contemporary counterparts. "I intend to convert what is contemporary," he declared, "into what existed in the ancient times."⁸⁰ In the historical context of P'i's age, he intended to convert the Taoist doctrines of his time into the Confucian-Mencian morality of the pre-Ch'in era.

In terms of the drastic weakening of Taoism in the ninth century, P'i's appeal in this regard may be regarded as the last blow against Taoism. According to the *Important Documents of the T'ang* (*T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要), no examinations on Taoist texts were given after 781.⁸¹ In the same token, very few imperial actions to exalt Taoism were taken after An Lu-shan's rebellion.⁸² Therefore, it is safe to conclude that P'i's memorial revealed the decline of Taoism and the rise of the *Mencius*.

Mencian Morality as a Counter System to Buddhism

On the other hand, P'i Jih-hsiu also used the *Mencius* as a counter system to Buddhism. Like his contemporaries such as Han Yü, P'i Jih-hsiu lamented the sad situation in which Buddhist

teachings flowed through China "as unstoppable as if all the rivers were overflowing."⁸³ The major reason why P'i objected to Buddhism lies in his opposition to the asocial mentality of Buddhism. He attacked the Buddhists, for they caused that "sons leave their fathers and husbands leave their wives."⁸⁴ On another occasion, P'i also criticized the discussion of Buddhist philosophy among those who converted to Buddhism.⁸⁵ He seems to have implied that the Buddhists were engaged in purely intellectual games while failing to put morality into practice. In attacking the asocial mindedness of Buddhism, P'i called for a return to the morality of Confucian sages, especially Mencius. As P'i argued:⁸⁶

In ancient times, Yang and Mo blocked the Way; Mencius refuted them and corrected their errors. Whereas there were the Duke of Chou and Confucius, there were also Yang and Mo. The important thing is that there was Mencius. Now, the religion of the Western Region (i.e., Buddhism) undermines the foundation and confuses the origins (of Chinese culture). Its disaster is even more serious than that caused by Yang and Mo. Among scholars (today), who will be a Mencius?

In this argument, Mencius appears to have been a protector of Confucianism and Chinese culture against the intrusion of Buddhism. Of course, Mencius had absolutely no knowledge about Buddhism. But P'i Jih-hsiu, as an interpreter of Mencius, saw in Mencius a vigorous spirit for attacking non-Confucian thought. He obviously read the *Mencius* in his own historical context.

P'i's View of the Orthodox Transmission of the Confucian Way

A question that deserves consideration here is: how did P'i Jih-hsiu conceive of Mencius' position in the Confucian tradition and the transmission of that tradition in history?

As did his predecessors and contemporaries, P'i Jih-hsiu held the Duke of Chou in high esteem. He credited the Duke of Chou with being "a sage" and preached the necessity of restoring the ancient taxation system presumably introduced by the Duke as a means to bridge the gap between the poor and the wealthy which was a serious socio-economic problem in his age.⁸⁷ He argued further that Confucius inherited and "rectified" the institutions established by the Duke.⁸⁸ And among the early Confucianists, only Mencius legitimately succeeded to "the subtle doctrines of the Sage."⁸⁹ After the passing away of Mencius, there were no Confucianists to convey the genuine "Way" until the rise of Wang T'ung in the sixth century A.D.⁹⁰ He also added his predecessor Han Yü as the sole successor to Wang T'ung.⁹¹ Thus, P'i's reconstruction of the orthodox transmission of the Confucian Way was slightly different from, but more elaborate than, that of Han Yü. While Han Yü saw no genuine Confucianist after Mencius, P'i added two of his predecessors, viz., Wang T'ung and Han Yü. Although the criteria of his selection of the above Confucian sages were not given explicitly, one may infer that P'i employed a double yardstick: the political and the philosophical. In treating the Duke of Chou as a "sage," P'i was concerned with the Duke's political achievements. However, in saying that Mencius succeeded Confucius, he

used the philosophical standard and thus stressed the contemporary relevance of Mencian morality. P'i's reformulation of the orthodox line of transmission of the Confucian Way became the rationale for his claim to restore the Mencian morality in the ninth century.

In addition to his use of Mencius to refute the Taoist and Buddhist asocial nature,⁹² P'i Jih-hsiu also quoted Mencius to criticize the political situation of his age. For example, Mencius once said that those who proclaimed "I am expert at military formation; I am expert at waging war" deserved the most severe punishment.⁹³ P'i quoted Mencius' saying to criticize "those who win the empire do so by using people's lives" in his age.⁹⁴ In this context, the *Mencius* was quoted by P'i to criticize the T'ang ruling house. It is probable that when P'i Jih-hsiu wrote these passages he might have referred to the bloody *coup d'état* in which Emperor T'ai-tsung came to the throne.

To sum up, the Mencian morality was conceived by P'i Jih-hsiu as a source of Confucian orthodox thought to counteract Buddhism and Taoism. In attacking the asocial nature of both Buddhism and Taoism, P'i stressed his concern for society as opposed to self. In P'i's representation of Mencian morality, therefore, more attention was directed to its "outer realm" than to the "inner realm." Yet it is on this particular ground that P'i Jih-hsiu appears to be a bridge between the philosophical and the socio-political concerns. To a certain extent, it is this socio-political concern that led to P'i's inclination to present Mencian morality as a source of political protest. This intellectual transition is more explicitly expressed in the case of Lin Shen-ssu.

IV. MENCIAN MORALITY AS
A POLITICAL PROTEST:
LIN SHEN-SSU
AND HIS CONTINUATION OF
THE MENCIOUS (HSÜ MENG-TZU)

Significance of the Continuation of the Mencius

Lin Shen-ssu was a ninth-century scholar-official who witnessed the decline of the T'ang empire amidst the Huang Ch'ao rebellion. A holder of the "presented scholar" degree, Lin rose to become Vice-Minister of Irrigation Affairs (*Shui-pu lang-chung* 水部郎中). He was executed by the rebellious leader Huang Ch'ao. Among his works,⁹⁵ the *Continuation of the Mencius* deserves our serious examination since this is the only work that is intended to be a "continuation" of the *Mencius* not only in format but also in thought. Moreover, the emergence of this book reveals the change of the T'ang scholars' attention toward Mencian morality. Along with the decay of the T'ang empire, Mencian morality as an ideology of statecraft drew Lin Shen-ssu's particular attention while its "inner realm," i.e., the ideas regarding moral cultivation, was cast aside. I attempt, in what follows, to analyze only the most outstanding features of Lin Shen-ssu's re-interpretation of Mencian morality.

Lin clearly stated the reasons why he wrote such a book in his own preface:⁹⁶

The *Mencius* was formerly written by Mencius' disciples who recorded what Mencius said. The reasons why I write again the *Mencius* lies in the fact that since Mencius taught for a long time his teachings were not exhausted by his disciples. Therefore, I expound them and write the *Continuation of the Mencius*.

This booklet is not a commentary in the traditional form. Lin did not expound the philological meanings of difficult words in the *Mencius*. Nor did he address the phonological problems of the classic. The *Continuation of the Mencius* consists of fourteen chapters, imitating the format of the *Mencius*; each chapter contains an anecdote either relating to or derived from the *Mencius*. Admittedly, all the conversations between Mencius and his contemporaries in the *Continuation of the Mencius* are created by Lin himself. The credibility of Lin as a narrator of the story of Mencius is, of course, very low. What is significant, however, is that Lin expressed what he thought should be understood by the reader of his book. In writing his *Continuation of the Mencius*, he tried to re-animate some particular beliefs of Mencian morality and to point out their contemporary relevance. In the light of intellectual history, Lin Shen-ssu's *Continuation of the Mencius* not only reveals the ever-changing focus of attention for those who reflected upon Mencian morality but also conveys the messages the author intended to give his contemporaries. It is this aspect of the issue that we shall analyze.

A careful reading of the *Continuation of the Mencius* reveals that the *Mencius* was read by Lin not in a philosophical context as it was by his predecessor Han Yü, but in a political perspective as Chao Ch'i of the Later Han read it. To put it more precisely, Lin presented Mencian morality as a source of political protest against the political decay of his age. Thus, in relating the alleged stories regarding Mencius; Lin indicated, implicitly or explicitly, the contemporary relevance and significance of certain political principles or policies mentioned by Mencius by stressing the aspect of

statecraft in Mencius' thought, while de-emphasizing the importance of theories of personal moral cultivation in the Mencian moral world. In Lin's representation of the cardinal doctrines of Mencius, the following three issues deserve special attention.

"Sharing One's Enjoyment with the People"

First, Lin Shen-ssu interpreted Mencius' doctrine of "sharing one's enjoyment with the people" to mean equalizing the tax and labor-service burden among the people. This idea is mentioned on two occasions (I:A, 2; I:B, 1) in the *Mencius*. "Now if you shared your enjoyment with the people," Mencius once advised the King of Ch'i, "you would be a true King."⁹⁷ A true King as opposed to a hegemon, Mencius implied, cultivated a compassionate mind toward people's sufferings. It is noteworthy that whenever Mencius discussed this idea he never mentioned any specific policies to put this idea into action. Mencius was more concerned with the principle than the practical policy — the principle that the ruler took the welfare of the people into serious consideration. In interpreting this principle of Mencius, Lin Shen-ssu spoke in the name of Mencius.⁹⁸

The sharing of one's enjoyment with the people which I am talking about means to equalize personal service among the people so that the strength of people will not be exhausted; to tax them equally so that they will have enough for their expenditure. Thus, the king has extra (money) to enjoy music and the people have extra (money) to enjoy singing songs. Is not this the sharing of enjoyment with the people?

Admittedly, there were, presumably, many ways to put this Mencian belief into practice. Why did Lin especially stress the policy of equalizing personal services and tax burdens among the people as the most immediate avenue to "share enjoyment with the people"? A possible answer is that Lin considered the inequality in compulsory labor-service and taxation as the major cause for the people's suffering in his age. He presented Mencius in such a way to convey his protest against the injustices of society as he saw them. This inference is confirmed by a review of the life of the people under the pen of poets of P'i's age. Lu Kuei-meng (陸龜蒙, Lu-wang 魯望, ?-881) wrote a poem entitled "Village Night" (*Ts'un-yeh* 村夜) a stanza of which reads:⁹⁹

The strength and blood of ten thousands
households were exhausted,
But it matches only the cost of a
banquet (of a wealthy family)

Not only the poet but also officials observed the unequal distribution of wealth and the inequality of tax burdens. An imperial proclamation in 841 mentioned the fact that many local officials added an arbitrarily-assigned amount of tax upon the farmers.¹⁰⁰ This sad situation continued to exist in the reign of Hsien-t'ung (咸通, 860-873) when Lin wrote his *Continuation of the Mencius*. In 872, a memorial submitted by the Secretariat Chancellery (*Chung-shu men-hsia* 中書門下) suggested the necessity of being fair in levying taxes because "the wealthy own land unlimited by the paths between rice fields while the poor have not even enough ground in which to stick an awl."¹⁰¹ The creation of the Twice-A-Year Tax System (*liang-*

shui fa 兩稅法) in 780 did not improve this situation.¹⁰² This was the socio-economic background against which Lin Shen-ssu interpreted the Mencian doctrine of "sharing one's enjoyment with the people" to mean equalization of tax and labor-service burdens among the people. In other words, Lin used the *Mencius* as a source of his protest against the socio-economic injustices of his age.

An examination of Lin Shen-ssu's economic thought runs parallel to the above speculation. Lin's political thought, as Hsiao Kung-ch'üan observes, centers on the arguments of letting people rest and alleviating their heavy tax burden.¹⁰³ Lin was sympathetic to the people who suffered from heavy taxation. A passage in his *An Explanation of the Concealed* reads as follows:¹⁰⁴

Those who carry sticks and grass for fuel climb high mountains everyday, but they do not mention their weariness. Those who ride on unicorns feel tired as soon as they pass hard ground. This is not because the wood carriers are not tired and thus do not spell out hardship. It is because nobody hears of their appeals. The horse-riders sigh out their tiredness because somebody is listening to them. Those who occupy high governmental posts do not see the grief of the lower people. Whenever feeling any unsatisfaction, their sighs are heard all under Heaven. Alas! how do they know the fact that the people work all day while finding no way to appeal?

In sum, Lin's historical background and his economic thought jointly determined the reasons why he saw new meanings in the Mencian doctrine of "sharing enjoyment with the people" and tried to convey his new interpretation as important messages to his readers.

Exaltation of the Worthy

Second, in explaining Mencius' doctrine of exalting the worthy and capable, a cardinal political idea held by many political theorists in ancient China, Lin states:¹⁰⁵

King Hsüan of Ch'i asked Mencius, 'I want to recruit the loyal while eliminating the wicked, and to employ the right person to man the post. Yet, how to discriminate the worthy from the unworthy around myself?' Mencius said, "There is nothing but "using" (yung, 用) them.' The King then asked, 'How can I know the worthy and use them?' Mencius replied, 'Your Majesty is really blind to the way of using the subjects Indeed, the worthy and the unworthy have served Your Majesty for a long time. There is no way to discriminate them when they behave respectfully and speak submissively. However, Your Majesty can readily differentiate the worthy from the wicked in making them face the temptation of money, assigning them heavy work and examining their capability. If Your Majesty does not use them, how can you distinguish the worthy from the wicked?

This conversation between Mencius and the King of Ch'i was, of course, conjured up by Lin Shen-ssu. Yet it is note-worthy that Lin stresses ability in handling practical administrative matters as the principal yardstick for assessing the officials in the bureaucracy. Lin also implied toward the end of the chapter that the morality of a given bureaucrat was best examined when he was faced with temptation and was assigned responsibility. What is of great significance is that Lin's emphasis upon the bureaucrat's administrative ability was far removed from the position of Confucius

and Mencius. In the Confucian and Mencian perspectives, morality and politics were two sides of the same coin of human activities. They seemed to have assigned priority to morality over politics. Confucius was of the opinion that the morally-cultivated persons should be elevated as political leaders.¹⁰⁶ He also argued the priority of the ruler's moral guidance over political control.¹⁰⁷ Mencius subscribed to Confucius' doctrine in this regard. In Mencius' mind, politics as a way of life is no more than morality in action. Thus, Mencius indicated that "benevolent government" was nothing but an extension of the "benevolent mind" of the ruler. As long as inner morality is cultivated, a "benevolent government" as manifestation of moral cultivation becomes attainable.

Lin Shen-ssu departed from this Mencian doctrine when he explained it. That Lin put sole emphasis upon administrative ability rather than moral self-realization marked a drastic shift from the subjective to the objective measure in evaluating a political person in the Confucian-Mencian tradition. Lin might have sensed the fundamental difficulty in Mencius' theory that the "benevolent government" would come into existence as soon as the ruler's mind was rectified. He intended to provide some objective standards to guarantee that every bureaucrat fits the official duties assigned to him. To conclude, the alleged question is asked in a moral context, but Mencius, under the pen of Lin, answered it in an amoral fashion.

Lin Shen-ssu's inclination to place top priority on administrative capability for evaluating an official can be even

more clearly perceived when we turn to his interpretation of Mencius' idea that "the way followed by Yü, Chi and Yen Hui was the same."¹⁰⁸ As seen in the pertinent chapter of the *Mencius*, the way followed by these three sages lies in a compassionate feeling toward the sufferings of the people. Mencius said that Yü and Chi looked upon themselves as responsible for anyone in the Empire who drowned or starved while Yen Hui remained happy in a hard life which others could not bear.¹⁰⁹ In other words, Mencius treated the "way" as a moral issue. Moral consciousness in this context is the basis of government. However, in chapter ten of the *Continuation of the Mencius*, Lin Shen-ssu explained that the ways of Yü, Chi and Yen Hui were the same in their capability to serve their states. Lin argued:¹¹⁰

Those who live on mountains are versed in hunting and those who live near rivers are capable in fishing. The endowment they shared in common is their *capability of catching things*.* . . . Yü and Chi made contributions in the days of peace. Isn't this comparable to the mountaineers making a living in hunting? Yen Hui held the (Confucian) principle in times of political chaos. Isn't this like that of the riverine people making a living in fishing? . . .

In the way, Lin converted a moral belief preached by Mencius into an amoral issue. Although he did not repudiate the moral concern in the Mencian tradition at large, he was more realistic than Mencius in assigning priority to practical capability over morality.

Why did Lin make such a conversion?

* Italics mine.

Although the scant material does not allow us to give a definite answer to this question, it seems highly probable that Lin, as a witness to the decline of the T'ang empire, intended to add new meanings to Mencian morality so as to re-animate it and at the same time make it helpful to solve the crises of his age. In an indirect way, Lin also presented Mencius as a source of protest against the political corruption and administrative malfeasance of his times.

Filial Piety

The third and last point deserving discussion is Lin's re-interpretation of filial piety, another doctrine in the Confucian-Mencian moral value system. In chapter twelve of the *Continuation of the Mencius*, Lin pondered over this important question:¹¹¹

Chuang Pao asked Mencius, 'Yü received the throne from Shun while Kun (紂, Yü's father) was put to death by Shun. Was Yü a man of filial piety? Mencius said, 'The filial piety of Yü prevailed throughout the world and was not bound by one single family. That Kun was put to death by Shun was a matter of the public realm. That Yü succeeded to the throne when Shun abdicated was a matter of the public realm too. Shun did not cease to punish Kun because his son Yü was of such virtue that he was worthy of being enthroned. There was no personal favoritism in Shun's treatment of Yü. Yü did not refuse to succeed to the throne because of the possibility of revenge. There was no personal favoritism in Yü's response to Shun. Furthermore, Shun, being sympathetic to the people, dispatched Yü to check it (i.e., the flood). Yü put aside his own family enmity and eliminated the calamity ravaging the world. Didn't this fact reveal that the filial piety of

Yü prevailed throughout the world rather than only within the family? If Yü were concerned only for his family enmity while forgetting the calamity of the world, how could he be looked upon as a man of filial piety? . . .

Mencius spoke of the legendary Emperor Yü on many occasions; he thought of Yü as Kun's son and Kun was executed by Shun.¹¹² It is significant that in this alleged conversation Lin Shen-ssu recognized a problem that Mencius apparently did not perceive.

The central issue in this passage is: should filial piety (i.e., revenge for one's father) prevail over the public good? In other words, the basic question is: was filial piety a particular family-bound ethic or was it a universal moral code that transcended the confines of family life? However, before answers to such questions can be offered, it is necessary to draw the line between what belongs to the private and to the public since the core of this passage centers upon the concepts of the private and the public. In the priority established by Lin Shen-ssu, filial piety as a moral value should be put into practice and understood in the context of society at large rather than in the family in particular. A son of filial piety such as the legendary emperor Yü should devote himself to the welfare of the people and the betterment of society. In assigning priority to the public over the private, Lin intended to eliminate the seemingly unavoidable incompatibility between commitments to society and to one's own family. Accordingly, the inherent conflict between public service and family responsibility can also be removed.

Lin's interpretation of the Mencian concept of filial piety reached the same

end which Mencius attained, namely, the harmony between the public and the private, and between the group and the individual. However, the priority that Lin assigned to society over the family was different from Mencius' position. This difference requires some elaboration. The Chinese character for filial piety is *hsiao* (孝). It does not appear in the oracle-bone inscription in the Shang Dynasty (ca. 1751-1112 B.C.) and appears occasionally in the early Chou bronze inscriptions. In the classical texts such as the *Book of Odes* and *Tso Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, the character *hsiao* gained some ethical contents. Confucius synthesized this tradition and stressed the inner spontaneity of filial consciousness as family ethics.¹¹³ It is in the *Mencius* that the development of filial piety as a moral code culminated in the pre-Ch'in era.¹¹⁴ However, whenever Mencius mentioned the concept of filial piety, he always talked about it in the context of family ethics. "The greatest thing a dutiful son can do," said Mencius,¹¹⁵ "is to honor his parents." Mencius maintained further, "A son of supreme dutifulness yearns for his parents all his life."¹¹⁶ It is Mencius' contention that the betterment of the public realm, i.e., society, begins with the completion of ethics pertaining to the private realm, i.e., filial piety. On this ground, Mencius could argue that "the way of Yao and Shun is simply to be a good son and a good younger brother."¹¹⁷ In other words, the family was the beginning while the society was the end. In this way, the incompatibility between family and society is eliminated in Mencius' system of thought. As the above analysis indicates, Lin Shen-ssu saw the priority of society over family and thus reversed

the order as Mencius designated it.

The foregoing discussion of Lin's interpretation of Mencian morality shows that he stressed the aspects pertaining to statecraft or social life at the expense of self-cultivation in the Mencian moral world. As suggested earlier in this article, Lin lived in an age of crisis when people endured constant warfare, rebellions, and oppression by harsh officials. Lin's strong enthusiasm for saving the people helped to formulate his political thought and inspired him to present the Mencian morality as a source of political protest.

V. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the observations made in the foregoing passages, interpretations of Mencian morality in T'ang times fall into two categories: the intellectual and the political. According to Han Yü and P'i Jih-hsiu, the flourishing of Taoism and Buddhism throughout China caused an ethical crisis because of, in their minds, these two religions' denial of man's social responsibility and ethics, especially the value of filial piety. In coping with this ethical crisis as they saw it, Han Yü and P'i Jih-hsiu presented Mencian morality as a counter to Taoism and Buddhism. They stressed Mencius' criticism of Yang Chu and Mo Ti and compared it to their own assaults upon Buddhism and Taoism in T'ang times. In their interpretation of Mencian morality, the *Mencius* appears as a weapon in the battle to uphold Confucian orthodox thought.

In view of the fact that they rejected Buddhism and Taoism and that they perceived of themselves and their age as lying within the framework of the Confucian value system, Han Yü and

P'i Jih-hsiu can be described as conservatives in their intellectual predilections. However, this assertion should not be taken to mean that they followed the mainstream of Confucianism in the seventh and eighth centuries. On the contrary, they rejected the Confucian tradition represented by the *Wu-ching cheng-yi*, which was a mixture of Taoism and Confucianism. Han Yü and P'i Jih-hsiu consciously aimed at refining and rejuvenating Confucianism by turning to the *Mencius*. The Mencian system of thought, as they saw it, was relatively unexploited and more pertinent to the intellectual crisis of their own age. Thus, they took pains to interpret Mencian morality so as to make it meaningful to their contemporaries.

There is an overlapping area between the intellectual and political interpretation of the *Mencius*. In attacking the asocial nature of Buddhism and Taoism, both Han Yü and P'i Jih-hsiu stressed that man was a social animal. Such an

emphasis necessarily leads to a concern with the socio-political dimensions of life. This is especially true in the cases of P'i Jih-hsiu and Lin Shen-ssu. P'i Jih-hsiu presented Mencius' thought as an intellectual orthodoxy and at the same time a source of political protest. Moreover, Lin Shen-ssu's interpretation of the Mencian doctrines of "sharing one's enjoyment with the people," of exaltation of the worthy, and of filial piety represents a culmination of the study of the *Mencius* in the political context of the T'ang Dynasty. Although Lin Shen-ssu's name was not mentioned by Sung scholars when they discussed the *Mencius*, Lin's *Continuation of the Mencius* marks an important stage in the political interpretation of the *Mencius*. The way in which the Northern Sung scholars approached the *Mencius* was basically the same as that of Lin Shen-ssu. In historical perspective, the Northern Sung views of the *Mencius* were rooted in late T'ang times.¹¹⁸

NOTES

71. For P'i's own account of his genealogy, see his "P'i Tzu shih-lu," in his *Wen-sou*, pp. 125-6.
72. The circumstances of the death of P'i Jih-hsiu remain a subject of academic debates. Hsiao Ti-fei argues that P'i was executed by Emperor Hsi-tsung for his close association with the rebellious leader. See Hsiao's introduction to the *Wen-sou*, pp. 19-20. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. follows the traditional account in saying that P'i was probably put to death by the rebellious leader Huang Ch'ao. See his *P'i Jih-hsiu*, p. 35. Neither position is supported by first-hand sources.
73. See, e.g., Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3; Fukino Yasuchi, "P'i Jih-hsiu no bungaku - P'i Tzu wen-sou san-bun o chushin toshite," *Kokugakuin Zasshi*, 79:10 (Oct. 1978), pp. 1-11.
74. *Wen-sou*, pp. 95-96.
75. That is, the arts of rites, music, archery, horse-riding, calligraphy and mathematics.
76. The term *mao-ts'ai* literally means "those of outstanding talent." The way in which P'i mentions *mao-ts'ai* and *ming-ching* is somewhat misleading. The T'ang civil service examination system falls into three major categories: (a) the *chih-chü* (制舉); (b) the *kung-chü* (貢舉) and (c) the *tsa-chü* (雜舉). Among the sub-categories, there are *mao-ts'ai i-hsing* ("those of outstanding talent and deeds," 茂才異行) that appeared in the examinations of A.D. 664 and 767.

There are also sub-category of *mao-ts'ai i-teng* ("those of outstanding talent and rank, 茂才異等) which appeared in the examinations of A.D. 708 and 771. However, throughout the examination history, there is no particular sub-category called *mao-ts'ai*. Thus, it is highly probable that P'i used the term *mao-ts'ai* in this context as a synonym for *chin-shih* ("the presented scholar," 進士). Moreover, during the middle of T'ang Dynasty, the *chih-shih* degree holders were customarily referred to as *hsiu-ts'ai* ("those of excellent talent," 秀才) and the *ming-ching* degree holders were referred to as *hsiao-lien* ("those of filial piety and incorruption," 孝廉). See Hsü Sung, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* (the *Nan-ching shu-yüan ts'ung-shu* edition), "Fanli." In T'ang times, the terms *hsiu-ts'ai* in P'i's memorial refers to the *chin-shih* degree holders rather than those who passed the examinations of the category of *mao-ts'ai i-teng*.

77. The term *ming-ching* literally means "those who comprehend the meanings of the classics." It was one of the major categories of the T'ang examination system. The total number of categories of examination in the T'ang amounted to more than one hundred. Among them, about ten were of paramount importance in recruiting men into the bureaucracy. The *ming-ching* was one of the major categories.
78. *Wen-sou*, "Yüan hua," p. 23. English translation adapted from Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 63 with slight revision.
79. For a discussion on this point, see Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4.
80. *Wen-sou*, "Ch'ing hsin Chou tien," p. 68.
81. *THY*, Vol. 77, "Ch'ung yüan-sheng," pp. 1403 - 5.
82. *THY*, Vol. 50, "Tsung Ts'ung tao-chiao," pp. 865-882.
83. *Wen-sou*, "Yüan hua," p. 23.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
85. *Ibid.*, "Yi Ch'eng Chün po-shih shu," p. 97.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
87. *Wen-sou*, "Ch'ing hsin Chou tien," p. 68.
88. *Wen-sou*, "T'i Shu-sun t'ung chuan," p. 81.
89. *Wen-sou*, "Ch'ing Meng Tzu wei hsüeh-k'o shu," p. 95.
90. *Wen-sou*, "Wen Chung-tzu pei," p. 38.
91. *Wen-sou*, "Ch'ing Han Wen-kung p'ei hsiang t'ai-hsüeh shu," pp. 93-95. P'i compared Mencius' attack on the thought of Mo Tzu and Yang Chu to Han Yü's refutation of Buddhism. He saw Han Yü as a Mencius in the T'ang: "If among those who dress in robes of great officers, every generation had a Gentleman from Ch'ang-li, then I would regard them as like Mencius (i.e., continuing the orthodox line)." *Wen-sou*, p. 24. For the English translation, see Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
92. Fukino Yasushi also argues that P'i's preference for Mencius was a reaction to the imperial patronage of Buddhism and Taoism. See his "P'i Jih-hsu to Meng K'o to," *Kokugakuin Zasshi*, 80:9 (Sept. 1979), pp. 1-11.
93. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 67.
94. *Wen-sou*, "Tu Ssu-ma Fa," p. 67.
95. Lin wrote four books: *Grand Prose* (*Hung tz'u*, 宏詞), *Confucian Paradigm* (*Ju fan*, 儒範) (neither is extant), *An Explanation of the Concealed* (*Shen meng tzu*, 伸蒙子) and the *Continuation of the Mencius* (*Hsü Meng Tzu*, 續孟子). He attained the *chin-shih* degree in A.D. 869. His *An Explanation of the Concealed* was completed in A.D. 865. The date of his *Continuation of the Mencius* is not identifiable.

96. Lin Shen-ssu, *Hsü Meng Tzu* (*Chih-pu-chu-chai ts'ung-shu* edition), "Preface," p. 1a. Hereafter as Lin, *HMT*.
97. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 61.
98. Lin, *HMT*, I, p. 3.
99. Lu Kuei-meng, "Ts'un yeh," as quoted by Hsiao Ti-fei in his introduction to *Wen-sou*, p. 8.
100. *THY*, Vol. 84, p. 1543.
101. *CTS*, Vol. 19a, p. 18a.
102. For a discussion of the introduction of this program and its aftermath, see, e.g., Chü ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-tai ts'ui-cheng-shih* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1940), Cha. 2; Denis C. Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1963).
103. Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, *Cheng-chih ssu-hsiang*, III, p. 413.
104. Lin Shen-ssu, *Shen meng tzu* (*Chih-pu-chu-chai ts'ung-shu* edition) II, pp. 3b-4a.
105. Lin, *HMT*, II, pp. 1b-2a.
106. Lau, *Analects*, p. 81.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 63, 119, 115-6.
108. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 134.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-5.
110. Lin, *HMT*, II, pp. 2a-3b.
111. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 3a-b.
112. Lau, *Mencius*, II: A, 8; III: A, 4; III: B, 9; IV: B, 20; IV: B, 26; IV: B, 29a; V: A, 6; VI: B, 11; VII: B, 22; VII: B, 38.
113. For a discussion of the evolution of *hsiao* as an ethical concept, see Hsü Fu-kuan, "Chung-kuo hsiao-tao ssu-hsiang ti hsing-ch'eng yen-pien chi ch'i li-shih chung ti chu wen-t'i," in his *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang shih lun-chi* (Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, 1975, 4th edition), pp. 155-200.
114. Mencius mentioned *hsiao* on the following occasions: I: A, 3; I: A, 7; I: A, 5; II: A, 2; III: A, 5; III: B, 4; IV: A, 26; IV: A, 28; IC: B, 30; V: A, 1; V: A, 4; VI: B, 2; VI: B, 3; VII: A, 32; VII: A, 39.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
118. For a discussion on the Sung views of Mencian morality, see my "The Rise of the *Mencius*," Chapter Four.

Poetical Diplomacy of Ancient China

T. H. Chen

(陳民耿)

In ancient China, owing to the steady pressure of the Jung tribes from the west, the House of Chou (1122-249 B.C.) had to move its capital to Loyang. From this time on, the power of the monarch passed to the princes of the vassal states, of which there were numerous and all of them were more or less independent of one another. The princes of these states were hereditary but had the obligation of paying tribute to the monarch who ruled over them only in name and occasionally he might appoint ministers to serve in the governments of the vassal states.

A confederacy or a league of loosely organised states was generally under a major state. During the Spring and Autumn period, (春秋時代) there were in succession five such major powers as Tse, Tsin, Sung, Chyn, and Tsoo. Each of them assumed hegemony ostensibly for the purpose of supporting the House of Chou and attempting to drive out the barbarians much as the ancient Romans did. The central government carried on but only nominally. In this multi-state world, men of resourcefulness were busy in the study and practice of inter-state

relationships. It was under these circumstances that many officials and scholars began to employ poetry as a means of conducting diplomacy. As an envoy, eloquence alone was not sufficient. He was expected to be able to make his point by reciting poems to fit the occasion. Most of the poems were full of metaphors, musical to listen to and easy to understand. For almost two centuries this kind of diplomatic gatherings took place mainly in the basin of the Ho and occasionally south of the Yangtze. It spread gradually to the backward states and exerted an immense influence on international life style during that period. Its significance had been recognized by Confucius and other great philosophers. Such poetic exchanges were too numerous to be cited. For our purpose, we shall take a few of them for discussion.

I. BILATERAL ACTIVITIES

There were many bilateral conferences. When there were banquets, they would generally have poetic recitations often with musical accompaniment. They

tried to keep the diplomatic atmosphere as pleasant and harmonious as possible. For examples:

A. *Between Loo and Cheng*

In 614 B.C. the ruler (a duke) of Loo returning from Tsin where he had paid an official visit was entertained with a feast by the ruler of Cheng at Fei. In the interval, an officer of Cheng sang a poem entitled the *Hung Yen* (181). It consists of three stanzas, the second one of which is given here:

The wild geese are flying,
In the middle of the marsh they settled.
Those men engaged in building the wall
Have set up a hundred cubic-square
frames.
Though they worked very hard,
They got accommodation and were
safe at last.

He wished the guest of honor to understand thoroughly the condition of the people of Cheng. Many of them were displaced and scattered like wild geese. Chi Wen-Tsi, minister of Loo, said, "My ruler has sympathy with you." and sang the *Szu Yueh* (204) an allusive narrative piece. His viewpoints seem to be reflected in the following few lines:

The Kiang and the Han are rushing
down,
They form the main-threads of the
southern States,
Worn out as we are with service
Yet they take no notice of us.

Here the minister of Loo drew the host's attention to the precarious situation in the south where Tsoo had already begun to make incursions to the north. Cheng

and Wey were being threatened. Thus, Tse Chia, grand officer of Cheng, chanted a stanza of the famous *Tsai Chih* (54). The essential idea of that stanza is like this.

I wish to take the case before the great
State.
Don't blame me!

Tsi Chia mentioned an "appeal to the great State."¹ The great State being Tsin, both Wey and Cheng wanted to rely on it for necessary support. As Loo was friendly with Tsin, they wished Loo to do something for them. Chi Wen-Tsi attempted to satisfy the host by singing the fourth stanza of the *Tsai Wei* (167):

What is that so splendid?
It is the flowers of the cherry-tree.
What war-carriage is that?
It belongs to our lord.
Being already yoked
With four stout steeds.
How dare we be inactive?
We have had frequent alarms.

Here the war carriage "being already yoked" is to tell the ruler and ministers of Cheng that Loo was going to take the same step as Cheng and other States did. That is why Loo and Cheng, Sung, Wey, Chen and others had made a treaty in Hsinchen the following year.²

B. *Between Tsin and Loo*

In 565 B.C. Fan Hsuan-Tsi, minister of Tsin, paid a visit to Loo and gave notice about Tsin's taking the field against Cheng. He was entertained by the duke with a feast. In the interval, Fan Hsuan-Tsi sang a poem entitled the *Piao Yu Mei* (20):

From the plum-tree the fruits are
dropping.
There are some of them left.
I beg of my lovers
Do come, this is the lucky moment.

From the plum-tree the fruits are
dropping.
There are only a few of them left.
I beg of my lovers
Do come, now is the right time.

From the plum-tree the fruits are
dropping.
In the basket I have collected them.
I beg of my lovers,
Do come, just say so.

This is an allusive piece, saying that once the fruits are ripe those who want to have them should come without delay. Fan Hsuan-Tsi here gave a hint that Loo should be friendly with Tsin right now. Chi Woo-Tsi, minister of Loo, who understood the meaning of the verse, said, "Who will dare not to obey your instruction?" After saying this, he sang the *Chio Kung*, (223) a *lông* poem. It was believed to have been written to criticize a king of the House of Chou for his cold treatment of his relatives. Its first three stanzas may be cited here:

Well fashioned is the horn-bow.
Swiftly flies its return.
Brothers and relatives by marriage
Ought not to be treated distantly.

If you keep yours distantly,
The people would do the same.
If you teach them,
They would all imitate.

Those good brothers
Are too generous.
Those bad brothers
Do harm to each other.

As the guest intended to ask Loo to help
Tsin in taking the field against Cheng,

the minister did not say "No" but recited this poem. When the guest was about to leave the hall, Minister Chi Woo-Tsi sang the *Tung Kung*. (175) It is a festal ode on the occasion of a feast given by the monarch to some prince in recognition of the merit the latter had achieved with a bow in red color. The ode says:

The red bow is unbent
Once received, being deposited.
I have an honorable guest here,
Whole heartedly I give it to him.
The bells and drums have been set,
I feast him this day.

The other two stanzas are here omitted for their monotony. Chi Woo-Tsi was singing this just to please the guest because of his performance.³

C. *Between Tsin and Chyn*

For nineteen years Chung-erh of Tsin had been in exile abroad. When he came to Chyn, the earl (his brother-in-law) intended to help him to return to his native state to be its ruler. Before departure, Chung-erh was entertained in 637 B.C. by the earl with a banquet. The host and the guest of honor with his attendants all expressed what they wanted to say by chanting verse after verse. The story is described in the *Kou Yu* in detail. The earl first chanted the *Tsai Shuh* (222) which consists of five stanzas. For our purpose the first stanza will suffice:

To gather pulses of beans, to gather
pulses,
We put them into two different baskets.
When the prince comes to the court,
What have we to give him?
We have nothing, though,

There are carriages and horses.
 What further have we to grant?
 The black robes and the embroidered
 garments.

Upon the suggestion of his attendant,
 Cho Shuai, the prince replied by singing
 the *Shu Miao* (227). It also consists of
 five stanzas of which the first one carries
 the meaning quite well:

Luxuriant are the young millet,
 Much rain has fertilized it.
 A long distance our journey to the
 south
 Was encouraged by the earl of Shao.
 We have the loads, the barrows,
 And the wagons and the oxen.
 Our journey is now finished
 We say we are coming home.

The prince considered himself as young
 millet which is in need of being fattened
 by rain. Rain in this case is, of course,
 the earl of Chyn. In Chinese vocabulary,
 rain, especially timely rain, implies
 favor. The earl seemed to have been
 much pleased, reciting the *Chiu fei*
 or the "flying dove," which is the first
 stanza of the *Hsiao Yuan* (196):

The little cooing pigeon
 Flies high up to the heavens.
 My heart is sad.
 I am thinking of my ancestors
 Up to dawn unable to sleep
 In remembering the two persons.

Originally, the two persons in this poem
 refer to the earl's parents. Here now the
 earl had brought to mind his father-in-law
 and his deceased wife. He wished to aid
 Chung-erh to go back and put the state
 of affairs in Tsin in order. The prince
 thus sang the *Mien Shui* (183.1):

A flood of those flowing waters
 Goes like having audience with the sea.
 Swift is that flying hawk,
 Now soaring, now stopping.
 I am sorry about my brethren.
 None cares a straw about the disorder,
 They have parents though.

From these few lines the prince conveyed
 his intention that after his return he
 would pay a formal visit to Chyn like a
 river running to the sea. The prince,
 a political refugee, regarded himself as
 an escaping bird. He recognized the
 unsettled and deplorable conditions in his
 own state. In response, the earl did not
 give a speech but sang again a poem,
 the *Lu Yueh* (177). This ode was written
 by a poet in celebrating the service
 rendered to the kingdom by an ancient
 noble and now the earl wished that the
 prince would follow suit.⁵

D. *Between Little Choo and Loo*

Little Choo close to Loo was a
 dependency of another state but later
 became a principality. In 539 B.C. the
 viscount of little Choo came to visit Loo.
 Chi Woo-Tsi, one of Loo's ministers,
 wished to give the guest a cool reception.
 But it was opposed by another minister.⁶
 In 525 B.C. the viscount came again.⁷ The
 duke of Loo entertained him with a feast
 at which Chi Ping-Tsi, minister of Loo,
 sang the *Tsai Shu* (222). The last stanza
 refers to the osier boat:

Floating and floating about is the osier
 boat
 Now fastened with a large rope!
 Happy are the princes,
 The Son of Heaven takes care of them.
 Happy are the princes,
 All blessings enrich them!

They are free and satisfied
These are also within their reach.

The ode was originally produced to celebrate the appearance of the feudal princes at the royal court. Chi Ping-Tsi sang this now, hoping obviously to further tighten the friendly relations between the two states. In reply, the viscount sang the *Tsing Tsing Chi Ngo* (176), an ode of four stanzas. It is note worthy that the first line of its last stanza is exactly the same as the first line of the fifth stanza of the *Tsai Shu* (222):

Floating and floating about is the osier
boat,
Now sinking, now rising.
Since we see our prince,
Our hearts are at rest.

Little Choo is a tiny state, just like a boat of willow on the turbulent sea. It appeared to be very difficult for the viscount to keep it under perfect control. However, after meeting poetically with the eminent minister of Loo, the viscount must have been quite content. We can see this by reading the odes they chanted.

II. MULTILATERAL ACTIVITIES

Though there are many examples of the bilateral activities in poetical diplomacy, we must now turn to the multilateral ones that appear to be more important and interesting.

A. *The Gossip of People*⁸

In the summer of 559 B.C. Duke Hsien of Wey had invited Sun Wen-Tsi and Ning Hwei-Tsi to dine at his court. The two officers arrived punctually. The duke was still out hunting in the

park. It was getting late. They went to see him there. They felt being slighted as the duke spoke to them without taking off his fur cap.

Sun Wen-Tsi repaired to Chi, sending his son Sun Kwai to see the duke. The latter entertained him with wine. The chief musician was ordered to sing the last stanza of the *Chiao Yen* (198) but he dared not do so. Another musician, Chao by name, wished to enrage Sun Wen-Tsi so that he could avenge himself on the duke who had once insulted him. He asked leave to sing that stanza:

Who is that man?
He dwells on the bank of the Ho,
Without vigor, without bravery,
Yet alone rears the steps of disorder.
Being all legs and wings,
What courage has he?
Though there may be plans new,
Yet the people following him are few!

Sun Kwai was frightened, telling the whole story to his father. The duke at last was forced to flee to Tse. A new ruler was raised with Sun Lin-Foo and Ning Hwei-Tsi as ministers. Soon Ning Hwei-Tsi repented of his misconduct in having driven out the ruler. He told his son that Ning Hi might be asked to punish him for his crime after his death.

Ning Hi took up the matter seriously. He put the unwanted ruler to death. The state of affairs at once turned from bad to worse. Sun Lin-Foo who was in Chi transferred his allegiance to Tsin. A garrison was sent by Tsin to defend Chi. That city was then being attacked by Wey. As a result, three hundred troops were killed. Now the problem became an international issue. A conference was called by Tsin for prompt discussion and delegates from several states including

Cheng, Sung, Chao and Loo all attended. The Duke of Wey also appeared at the meeting and hence he went to Tsin where he was taken prisoner.

Almost immediately, the Marquis of Tse and the Earl of Cheng paid a special visit to Tsin. At the banquet which was given by the Marquis of Tsin in their honor they spoke very little. First the host sang the *Chia Loh* (249). This is a narrative ode often cited for entertaining noble guests. It consists of four stanzas, the second of which seems essential in suggesting an inter-state congress:

With rich emolument and many
blessings,
With hundreds and thousands of off-
spring,
They have solemn and beautiful
character,
Fit to be princes, to be kings,
Never commit an error, never lose
memory
Do observe the old statutes!

He referred to the old statutes that had been fully developed in regulating inter-state relations. Therefore, the last three lines conveyed a very significant meaning on the occasion. Kuo Ching-Tsi, whose ancestor was appointed by the king to serve as minister of Tse, now came in attendance on the Marquis of Tse and sang the *Lu Hsieh* (173). The main point the guest wished to express seemed to be in the last two lines of the first stanza:

Long and large grows the southern-
wood,
With the dew appearing on it.
Now that I have seen my noble men,
My heart is unburdened.
At feast, we laugh and talk,
Thus we have fame and prosperity

He seemed to remind those who

participated in the conference to adopt an agreeable attitude, while Tsi-Chan, a minister of Cheng, who was waiting on the earl, sang the *Tzu I* (75).

This is supposed to be a love song, consisting of three stanzas, which varied only by the change of two characters in each, without any change in meaning:

How well the black coat fits you?
When worn out, I will mend it for you.
Let us go to your abode;
I will also give you food.

Tsi-Chan had this song chanted not only in praising the marquis but in showing his intention to make necessary changes in anything that might happen. The marquis acknowledged the compliment of the two princes upon the suggestion of his officer in attendance.

Yen Ying (better known as Yen Tzi), a famous officer of Tse who received instruction from Kuo Tsi said privately to the grand minister of Tsin: "As an officer seized the ruler, what the marquis as the leader of the League is going to do about it?" The minister told this to Chao Wen-Tsi who reported it to the marquis. The marquis made Shu-Hsiang (or Yang-Sheh Hsi) inform the two princes that the duke of Wey who had killed a garrison of three hundred persons at Monse was to blame. He thought that in order to maintain international order it was perfectly right to put the duke of Wey in jail. Of course, there were many points that could be brought up for debate in favor of the ruler of Wey. But this would most likely give rise to unavoidable disputes. Thus poetry was used as a means to settle the case peacefully. Kuo Ching-Tsi began to sing the *Pe Tsi Yu Yi* (a lost ode)⁹:

The horse is rigid,
 The rein is soft.
 The horse is not really rigid,
 Now the rein is soft.
 If one's temperament adapts to it
 without suspicion,
 He can manage well.

He was asking the marquis to deal with the matter not rigidly. Then Tsi-Chan recited the *Tsiang Chun Tsi Yi* (76), a love song of three stanzas, any one of which will serve as a point of reference:

Chung tsi, please!
 Don't cross into my garden.
 Don't break my tan-tree.
 How dare I care for them?
 But I am afraid of the gossip of the
 people.
 Chung tsi is lovable,
 But the gossip of people
 I am also afraid of.

This served as a rhythmic note in gently warning the head of the League. It drew his attention to the importance of public opinion. Without any hesitation, the marquis decided to set the duke of Wey free and let him return to his native state.

From this and other instances we can see how useful a role poetry can play in diplomacy. In solving international controversies or conflicts, it seems to be able to work more effectively and delightfully. Perhaps, by applying poetry wisely, the World Court of Justice may become useless in the future!

B. *The Blue Flies Buzz*

The central states in the Spring and Autumn Period were surrounded by various tribal states, most of them being barbarians, very difficult to deal with.

Even within the boundaries of the states themselves, there were inhabitants of different races. They came to live there as they liked. Some of the heads of the tribes had been given noble titles. They might have been allowed to attend the international gatherings if they could behave in a becoming manner.

At Hsiang, a district of Loo, in 559 B.C. an international conference¹⁰ was held with various states attending, among them being Tsin, Tse, Sung, Wey, Cheng, Chao, Chu, Choo, Teng, Hsieh, Chii, Little Choo, Loo and Woo. They were discussing measures to be taken against Tsou in the interest of Woo. The latter had been defeated by Tsou. As Chu had exchanged communications with Tsou and Wu Lou, a nobleman of Chu who came to attend the meeting, was arrested. The representative of Woo was also expelled because of his misconduct.

The Jung, a tribal state in the north-western region, with different language, dresses, and customs had been given lands for necessary subsistence by Tsin. As the state had not yielded to Tsin as before, it was believed that the Jung had let some information leak out from there. Chu Chi, the viscount of the Jung who now reached Hsiang for conference, was told by Fan Hsuan-Tsi, grand minister of Tsin, not to take part in the session. If he did so, he would be seized. The viscount had argued with the grand minister without avail and he sang the *Tsing Ying* (219):

Buzz and buzz, the blue flies
 Have lighted on the hedge.
 Oh! our delighted sovereign,
 Don't believe in the calumniators'
 remarks.

Buzz and buzz, the blue flies

Have lighted on the thorns.
The calumniators are not stopping
In disturbing the states' relations.

Buzz and buzz, the blue flies,
Have lighted on the hazel-trees.
The calumniators are not stopping
In plot against you and me.

After recitation, the viscount was going to withdraw. With good grace Fan Hsuan-Tsi apologized. The viscount as the representative of a tribal state was admitted to the conference. Since the decline of power of Tse, Tsin achieved hegemony in the League, being able to bar as well as to admit any one to the international meeting, as if Tsin possessed a veto power. Yet such power was actually nullified by a piece of very common poetry!

C. *Dog May Not Bark!*

About six years after the famous international disarmament conference, another great international gathering for renewal of the covenant was held at Kai in Cheng in 540 B.C. The delegates of eleven States attended. Right Honorable Wei of Tsou arrived earlier for the purpose of marriage and asked for a large reception house to accommodate his suite, causing much trouble to the people of Cheng. In the meeting the ceremony was at his request conducted by using sacrifice after which the words of the old covenant were read. Wei dressed himself in a majestic style and had attracted considerable attention of delegates from the other states. They talked much about him.

In the meantime, Loo invaded Chu, taking Yun, one of its districts. The people of Chu appealed to the conference while it was still in session. Its delegation

sent a strong note to Tsin, the leader of the League, saying that "We have not yet finished the conference and Loo had invaded Chu, violating the international treaty. The delegate of Loo should be put to death." After a long discussion, Chao Meng, the prime minister of Tsin and now head of the conference, spoke on behalf of Loo. He said, "Why should the states be troubled about this problem! This appears to be a minor matter. Furthermore, the border disputes between Loo and Chu have been in existence for a long time already. No great harm could be done by Loo to international peace. The chief delegate of Loo is a nice man." Chao Meng expressed his request sincerely. The matter in dispute was thus dropped.

When the session came to a close, Honorable Wei entertained Chao Meng with a banquet at which he chanted the first stanza of the *Ta Ming*: (236).

The brilliance of virtue on earth
Is the manifestation of Heaven's will.
Heaven cannot be relied upon;
To maintain rulership is difficult.
Heaven gave throne to Yin,
But did not allow it to possess the
kingdom.

As Tsou was struggling with Tsin for supremacy in the League, what Honorable Wei intended to do was not only to be the presiding state in the great organization but to overthrow the House of Chou. The latter's kingship from his viewpoint was not tenable. In response, Chao Meng chanted the second stanza of the *Hsiao Wan*: (196).

Ones who are serious and sober
Even when they indulge in drink
can manage themselves well.

Those who are ignorant
Once drunk, going daily in excess.
You should all take care of yourselves.
The decree of Heaven cannot be
regained.

The significant ideas of this stanza is in the last line. Chao Meng seemed to advise his host to think of international politics in term of the decree of Heaven to lead a sober life. The chief minister of Tsoo was ambitious; his appearance at the Kai meeting has created a bad impression among the delegates. At the end of the banquet, Chao Meng told his secretary, "The chief minister looks upon himself as king." The Earl of Cheng avoided meeting him in Kai.

Afterward, Chao Meng and Shu-Sun Pao, minister of Loo, together with an officer of Chao, entered the capital of Cheng where the earl entertained them. After a lot of ceremonies, Shu-Sun Pao sang the *Hoo Yek* (231) which is an ode usually sung at a feast. After a lot of ceremonies again, they proceeded to the feast. Now Shu-Sun Pao chanted the *Chueh Chao* (12):

Only the magpie has the nest.
But the dove dwells in it.
This noble lady is going to be married
A hundred coaches are prepared to
welcome her.

Only the magpie has the nest,
But the dove possesses it.
The noble lady is going to be married,
A hundred coaches are prepared to
escort her.

Only the magpie has the nest,
But the dove fills it.
This noble lady is going to be married,
These hundred coaches complete her
array.

This is an ode celebrating a marriage.

Here the singer expressed his idea that four states presented at the meeting with Chao Meng as chief of the states was like an honorable bride in a political alliance. Consequently Chao Meng said, "I am not worthy of that." Shu-Sun Pao continued to sing another ode entitled the *Tsai Fan* (13):

To gather the white southernwood
From the ponds, from the islets
Is to employ it
From the rituals of our prince and lord.

To gather the white southernwood
From the streams in the ravine.
Is to employ it
In the ancestral temple of our prince
and lord.

With head-dress rising up high
Early and late engaged in the mulberry
field;
With head-dress slightly loosened.
(She) says she is returning home.

Many scholars agreed that this piece refers to the duties of the prince's wife performed in the silk-worm establishment. Here the Minister of Loo meant to say that Loo and other small states were like the southernwood. The great state, namely, Tsin, may gather and use it. In other words, the small states would like to join together and cooperate under Tsin's leadership in international enterprises. Tsi-pi, great minister of Cheng who was very active in the meeting, now sang the last stanza of the *Ya Yu Zu Kun* (23). It is a love song, as if stating that a girl is having an affair with her lover:

Do slowly, and gently, gently,
Don't touch my apron,
Don't cause the dog to bark.

It was appropriate for Tsi-pi to use this little verse on the occasion. He intimated his wish that Tsin as an intimate ally should conduct business carefully and guard against the enemies.

Thus in reply, Chao Meng sang a long poem, the *Chang Ti* (164). Some critics assign the composition of this piece to the Duke of Chou. It came into use in entertainments at court to princes of the same royal clan. Chao Meng had taken this poem as a political missive, far better than an unrhythmic speech. As we know, many states including Tsin, Cheng, Loo and Chao were founded by the House of Chou. Their first rulers came from the same family. Therefore, they were closely related like brothers. Chao Meng wished to keep them in the family of states as its satellites. Only by their unity would Tsin be able to maintain its high position in the League, against the ambitious Tsou.

Chao Meng was one of the leading figures who had been working for the international disarmament conference. At the Kai meeting for the renewal of its treaty, he acted cautiously. He had saved the delegate of Loo from being put to death. He recited this poem to remind them of the need of supporting Tsin. After recitation, he added a few words, saying, "Let us rest in harmony as brothers. The dogs may not bark at us!" Here dogs means Tsou and its satellites.¹¹

D. A More Valuable Gift Than Jade

Just a year later, Han Chii was sent by the Marquis of Tsin to Loo, Tse and Wey as soon as he assumed the position of secretary of state in 539 B.C. He was a brilliant statesman and also a

great diplomat. When he arrived in Loo¹², he was introduced to visit the office of the Grand Historians where the Illustration of the *Book of Changes* and copies of the *Spring and Autumn* were being stored. He admired them, saying that, "Now I understand why the House of Chou has attained such a high honorable position."

When Han Chii was entertained by the duke, he sang the last stanza of the *Mian* (237):

The two States' ancient quarrels had
been amiably settled
Through the natural virtue of King Wen.
We are sure some of them have previously
adhered to him,
One after the other came to him.
Some of them have gone on an errand.
Some have resolution of resisting
insult.

He mentioned King Wen because he had established the House of Chou and put it on a solid foundation, having won many adherents. These states were in need of a common defense. Jih wu-tsi, minister of Loo, entertained the hope that Tsin could do something in the interest of international security. Loo would be benefited by it. Han Chii proceeded to sing the *Chio Kung* (223). (See above under paragraph (6) Between Tsin and Loo).

As soon as the guest finished his singing, Jih Wu-Tsi bowed to him, saying, "I beg to acknowledge your kindness expressed toward my state." Jih Wu-Tsi himself again sang the last stanza of another song entitled *Chieh* (191):

A poet has made this song.
To find the disorders caused by the
king.
The king was expected to change his

mind
In order to keep the myriad states
together.

Evidently he was hoping that Tsin would try to do its best to strengthen the international organization and to avoid confusion. After this ceremony, a banquet was given in the garden of a Loo noble. Han Chii admired the beautiful trees there. Jih Wu-Tsi said, "These trees were planted here. I have not forgotten the ode *Chio Kung* (223)." Instead of singing the *Chio Kung*, he sang the *Kan Tung* (16). It was related that an ancient nobleman executed his functions under a tree in the open air. The people loved him and likewise loved the tree. A poet in memory of the nobleman composed this little poem:

Shadowy is the sweet pear-tree.
Do not clip it, or hew it down,
For the chief took shelter under it.

Shadowy is the sweet pear-tree.
Do not clip it or destroy it,
For the chief took rest under it.

Shadowy is the sweet pear-tree.
Do not clip it or bend it,
For the chief halted under it.

Han Chii was pleased, saying, "I am not worthy of this. It is impossible for me to attain the position like that of the chief." Later Han Chii went to present the marriage offerings to Tse, thence to Wey. The Marquis of Wey entertained him with a feast at which Pei-Kung Wen-Tsi, his chief minister, sang the *Chyi Yuh* (55). This is a well-known allusive verse of Wey, a state which existed through a period of 905 years and outlasted the Chou Dynasty. It was supposed to have been written in praise

of Duke Wu whose accomplishments in Wey were considered unusual. To save space we quote its last stanza for illustration:

Look at that inlet of the Chyi
With green Luh-Chuh as thick as
cushion.
Here is our elegant chief
As precious as gold and tin,
As precious as tally and badge made of
jade.
He is in easy and leisurely manner,
Occupying the seat of the chariot.
He is fond of making jokes,
But he is not rude.

The ancestors of both Tsin and Wey came from the same family. Pei-kung Wen-tsi lauded the guest by reciting this ode. In reply, Han Chii sang the *Muh Gua* (64). It is metaphorical, a famous one of the ten Wey odes collected in the *Book of Poetry*.

A papaya was presented to me,
I return for it a jade jiu.
This is not a return of gift,
I expect only a lasting friendship.

A muh-peach was presented to me,
I return for it a jade yau.
This cannot be considered as a gift in
return,
I expect only a lasting friendship.

A muh-plum was presented to me,
I return for it a jade jeou.
This is not a gift in return,
I expect only a lasting friendship.

For a number of years the Duke of Wey, who was a prisoner in Tsin, had been set free by the Marquis of Tsin. In view of turbulent international situation then existing, Han Chii emphasized the importance of the relationship between the two states by reciting this piece in which lasting

friendship is repeated in each stanza. Han Chii was successful on this important diplomatic mission.

III. OTHER KINDS OF ACTIVITIES

A. *Rhythmic Ultimatum*

Tsin's territory had been enlarged by acquisition of a few small states like Yu and Kei close to its borderlands. In view of the fact that Tsoo, its rival, had begun to push its frontiers up toward the Ho, a further aggressive move to the south became necessary. Cheng lying between Tsin and Tsoo was subject to their invasion. They had been contemplating to reduce it into submission.

Cheng itself had been frequently in political restlessness with one coup d'etat after another. Their ministers also held divergent views about foreign policy. After Tsi-Chan took office as the prime minister, he tried to remove the undesirable elements from the government, introduce requisite reforms, and maintain tranquility and independence.

About this time in 542 B.C. Shuh Hsiang, a very capable officer of Tsin, was sent to pay Cheng a visit, his real purpose being to see whether it was right time to conquer it. He met Tsi-Chan who realized the undertaking of the guest at once. Instead of speaking to him, Tsi-Chan chanted a famous love song.¹³

If you tenderly love me,
Gird your loins and wade across the
Wei.

If you do not love me,
Are there no other suitors?

Shuh Hsiang had not failed to comprehend the meaning underlying the verse. Upon return to his country, he said to

his people, "There are great men in Cheng. Tsi-Chan is there. Chyn and Tsoo are close to us, we must give up the plan of taking it by assault."

Tsin consequently ceased preparations to occupy it by attack. Confucius remarks, *The Book of Poetry* says:

Nothing gives more strength
Than the employment of right men.

"Once Tsi-Chan gave a hint, Cheng was saved!"¹⁴ Some modern scholars have considered this piece used by the great statesman of Cheng as a rhythmic ultimatum.

B. *Armistic Talk with Reference to Poetry*

In about 588 B.C. an innocent joke that occurred in diplomatic circles in Tse had led to a great war. The story had been related in the *Tso Chuan*, the *Kung Yang Chuan*, the *Ku Liang Chuan* with slight difference in details. It is something like this according to the *Ku Liang Chuan*:

Jih-sun Hsing-fu, minister of Loo,
being bald,
Chio Ko, officer of Tsin, blind of one
eye,
Sun Liang-fu, grand minister of Wey,
lame,
Honorable Sheo, great officer (?) of
Chao, humpback,
They simultaneously on mission arrived
in Tse.

The marquis assigned to each envoy as attendant an officer who suffered from the same physical defect. The marquis' mother (daughter of Tung-shuh of Hsiao) and other court ladies who watched the proceeding of the

ceremony from behind curtains laughed aloud. The envoys at once were aware that they had been made a laughing stock. When retired, they argued outside for a long time, vowing revenge as soon as possible. Less than eight months later, the capital of Tse was beleaguered by the combined forces of the four states. The ruler of Tse sent Pin Mi-Ren, a poet diplomat, to meet the one-eyed Chio Ko when frightful disaster impended. Pin Mi-Ren asked for suspension of hostility, offering a Ki steamer, a musical jade, and also some territories of Loo and Wey that Tse had taken. Chio Ko declined the offer but requested that Tse should deliver up the daughter of Tung-shuh of Hsiao and at the same time make the division of all the fields in the state to run from east to west. Pin Mi-Ren brought a whole array of arguments by quoting again and again as emphatic proofs the poems that were popular in those days. His eloquency in combination with the beauty of poetry and a flash of wit seemed to have intensely attracted the listeners. In reply, he said, "The daughter of Tung-shuh of Hsiao is no other than the mother of my ruler. To consider the status of both states, we are on an equal standing. She is the same as the mother of your ruler! In case you give command to the various states saying to them, 'You must pledge the ruler's mother with us as a proof of your faith,' what will be the character of such a course of action in our international relations? It is still something like commanding men not to be filial. The *Book of Poetry*¹⁵ says:

Filial piety is not ceasing,
It will confer blessing on you.

If you give out orders of unfilial

piety to the states, is it not to do what is not virtuous?" He continued, "The former sovereigns in the demarcation of boundaries and divisions of the lands had to see to the character of the terrain so that the greatest benefit might accrue from it. Hence the *Book of Poetry*¹⁶ says:

Our boundaries and paths and ditches
have been defined
In acres the directions to the south, to
the east.

But now you wish to delimit the fields of the other states, and say 'Their directions must all run only eastwardly.' Such an arrangement would be advantageous only to your war-chariots. You have no regard whatsoever to the terrain's character. Is it not different from what the former sovereigns have done? To do a thing contradictory to tradition is unrighteous. How can such a state be head of the League? In fact, Tsin has committed errors. You seek now to unite all the states under you for the gratification of your own limitless desires. The *Book of Poetry*¹⁷ says:

To issue rules abroad mildly
It will accrue much emolument.

You have not had that gentleness. You got much emolument yourselves. But what harm would it do to the other states?" Pin Mi-Ren spoke fluently without giving offense, without exposing his country to a grave diplomatic humiliation. "Et surtout pas trop zele" is his motto in the course of a difficult diplomatic negotiation. A few passages quoted by him from the *Book of Poetry* added much force to his way of brilliant argument. He went on to say, "If you do not accede to our request for armistice,

my ruler instructed me to deliver you a further message: With your armies you came to my country; we are prepared to feast your internuncio out of our limited finance. Through the terror inspired by your ruler, our troops have been utterly routed. However, if the State of Tse will be favorably treated by you, its government be not destroyed, but permit our old friendship to be continued, then we shall give up the previous instruments of our former rulers and the lands. Otherwise, we will collect the fragments of our armed forces and asked for another battle before the wall of the city! " At this moment, according to the *Kung Yang Chuan*,¹⁸ Chio Ko winked his one eye at the representatives of Loo and Wey as a hint to accept the terms of the armistice.

C. Strategy in Poetry

1. Military Command

Chyn and Tsin were neighbors, separated, roughly speaking, by the Ho, into which a long river, the Wei, flows with two tributaries, one being the famous Ching. The Ching meets the Ho's turning point at Hochuh close to which many a great battle had been fought.

Chyn and Tsin had maintained cordial relations for a long time until 620 B.C. The problem of the White Tih, a northern tribe used to change sides rendering the situation serious.

A strong note charging its neighbor of lack of faithfulness and declaring the end of their friendly relations was thus sent by Tsin. And its army together with that of the eight associated states began to fight against Chyn at Masuey near the river Ching. Chyn was badly defeated. The associated army proceeded

by crossing the Ching and reached Howlih. They had crossed the muddy Ching without difficulty.

In 564 B.C. Tsin called again for the associated armies to attack Cheng which was supported by Chyn. As a result, the troops of Chyn crossed "the river" and Tsin received a great setback in a battle at Lei.

On account of this, about a year later Tsin mobilized an army of twelve associated states to attack Chyn again. Six ministers accompanied them and were ordered by the ruler of Tsin to go as far as the bank of the Ching with the intention of proceeding westwardly along the northern bank of the Wei to the heartland of Chyn. This time they were unwilling to cross the river. The situation became quite awkward. Shuh Hsiang, officer of Tsin, went to see Shuh-Sun Pao, minister of Loo, to find out the reason. As we know, in the *Book of Poetry*, there is a piece entitled the *Yih Poh* (238), in which one stanza is on the river Ching:

Those boats on the Ching rushing on
A number of oarsmen row them.
The King of Chou is going forth,
His six armies following him.

Although the Ching was somewhat dirty, it was navigable. The King of Chou in ancient time had sent his armies across it by boat. Shuh-Sun Pao did not recite this one on this particular occasion and instead he sang the *Paur Yu Ku Yeh* (34). It is a love song:

Though the gourd has bitter leaves,
And the ford for crossing is deep;
If deep, you may go with clothes on
Or, hold them up.

The ford is in full flood.
The female pheasant is crying.
Though in full flood, not over the axles,
The pheasant is calling for her mate.

While the geese cry,
The bright sun begins to dawn.
If he brings home his bride
He should do so before the ice is
melted.

The boatman is beckoning;
Others cross, I am exceptional,
Others cross, I am exceptional.
I am waiting for my sweetheart.

This is to show his decision to cross the river. The story given in KY¹⁹ is in detail. Shuh Hsiang after hearing the poem sung by Shuh-Sun Pao called for the commander of the boats and general of the army. He told them, "The bitter gourd cannot be used now. We, however, must cross the river. The commander has to provide boats. The general has to remove the rubbish from the road. Otherwise, it would be against the law." The armies of Choo were ordered by Loo to cross it first. An associated armed force was actually brought into action by the chanting of this little poem and it worked out as a military command more natural and more effective than modern international conventions or charters! That is why the operation of a useful international police force is nowadays impossible.

2. Poetic Declaration of War

Woo Yuan and Shin Pao-Su were intimate friends. When Woo Yuan's father and brother were put to death by the viscount of Tsoo, he fled from Tsoo to Woo. Before departure, he said to his friend, Shin Pao-Su that he would overthrow the state. Shin Pao-Su answered, "I will restore it."

In 506 B.C. Woo Yuan served

as internuncio of Woo laying plans against Tsoo. The associated forces of Woo, Tsai and Tang marched toward the capital of Tsoo and took it. The viscount of Tsoo took flight to Sui. About this time Shin Pao-Su went to Chyn, appealing for military aid. The Earl of Chyn refused to help. Shin Pao-Su stood leaning against the wall of the courtyard, and cried incessantly for a week without drinking even a spoonful of water. He seemed to have repeated what he had said day and night. The earl at last sang the *Wo-Yi* (133):

Why you should say you have no
clothes?

I will share my guilted robe with you.
The King is raising an army.
I will prepare the spear and lance,
Let me be your comrade.

Why should you say you have no
clothes?

I will share my under-robe with you.
The King is raising an army;
I will prepare the lance and halberd,
Let me take action with you.

Why should you say you have no
clothes?

I will share my lower garments with
you.

The King is raising an army!
I will prepare my armor and arms,
Let me take action with you.

According to Sze-Ma Chien's *Shih Chi*, the Earl of Chyn, had said, "Although the ruler of Tsoo is unprincipled, can it not exist for having a minister like this?" Soon five hundred war chariots were despatched to the scene.²⁰ Shin Pao-Su was not in a prominent official post but loyal, cavalierly-spirited. He had fought hard for the cause, but was himself not poetically-minded. If he had chanted an appropriate verse instead of crying in

requesting the help of an army, he might not have had to waste a week and to suffer so much hardship. However, the Earl of Chyn decided to enter into hostility with Tsoo by reciting the ode about "no clothes." He was in fact declaring war poetically. Tsoo was thus saved and its ruler duly returned from abroad!

3. Poetic Obligations in International Relations

During the *Spring and Autumn* Period, poetry was considered very important in the conduct of international relations. Not only the head of the state but most officials were able to recite those pieces published in the *Book of Poetry*. Confucius once had told his son to learn the *Book of Poetry* in order to converse with people. Ordinary speech in personal interview was not as well regarded as poetry. Confucius had also remarked that one who was entrusted with the diplomatic duty abroad should be able to talk by using poetry. But this tradition had been established in 722 B.C. long before the sage was born and went on until about ten years after his death in 479 B.C.

This kind of poetical activities had been flourishing among most leading states which we have brought up for discussion already. We know that the poetical role in international dealings had been regarded requisite and overlooking of this matter might give rise to misunderstanding. Now let us turn to some examples.

In the spring of 557 B.C. a congress was held in Showliang where the heads of ten states gathered together with their officers as delegates. Duke Pin who had newly ascended the throne of Tsin acted as the president of the League. He gave order to those states which had taken lands in their incursions against

other states to return them respectively; afterward he gave the delegates a feast in Wan and asked their great officers to dance and to sing poems that "must be fitting to the occasion." The one chanted by Kao Ho of Tse was not so and it enraged the army commander of Tsin. He said, "The states are cherishing a disaffected spirit," and proposed that the great officers should themselves conclude a gentlemen's agreement to the effect that all of them would punish the state which did not pay a visit to Tsin, the head of the League.²¹

In 545 B.C. another officer of Tse, Ching Fung, coming to Loo was entertained at a feast at which he behaved disrespectfully. When the host, Shuh-Sun Pao, sang the *Hsiang Shoo* (57) he did not understand the meaning. The next year he came again. At the feast he scattered the sacrificial thank-offerings about. The host, Shuh-Sun Pao was displeased and ordered the musicians to sing the *Mau Chy* (a lost poem, not included in the *Book of Poetry*) which he likewise did not understand.²² As Tse and Loo were not on friendly terms, these instances seemed to have increased their antagonism against each other.

The other case happened in 530 B.C. when Hwa Tin, minister of education of Sung who came to Loo to arrange for the establishment of contact between the two states. A feast was given in his honor. He failed to comprehend the poem entitled the *Liao Hsiao* (193) a poem sung to him and made no reply. Minister Sung was thus severely criticized by the officials and people of Loo.²³

D. International Game with Verse

It was an established custom during the ancient days in international con-

ferences, that poetry took the place of ordinary conversation in negotiation. On such occasions music would first be used but music is meaningless. To employ poetry with meaningful melody, would exert rhythmic eloquence on the audience. The Chinese have carried on this practice for a long time in various phases of life, even in international sports.

In 530 B.C. for example, there was an international gathering in Tsin. At the suggestion of Chung-Hang Mu-Tsi, his minister, the new ruler played the pitching-jar game with the Marquis of Tse. This was a game played by the guest and the host, each throwing an arrow into a jar. The loser had to drink a forfeit.

The Marquis of Tsin had the first chance and Chung-Hang Mu-Tsi sang:

Having wine filled like the Hwai,
Having meat formed like a mound,
If my ruler succeeds in pitching,
He will be the master of the princes.

The host's throw was successful. Then the Marquis of Tse lifted an arrow and he himself sang:

Having wine filled like the Shing,
Having meat formed like a hillock,
If I succeed in pitching,
I shall take your lordship's place.

His pitch was likewise successful. An officer of Tsin was not satisfied with what Chung-Hang Mu-Tsi had sung. He told the singer, "You have committed a mistake in the statement. As Tsin is already the head of the League, it is not necessary to say so. What is the use of those jars? It made no sense in interna-

tional politics!" Chung-Hang Mu-Tsi did not argue but made the remark: "Tse has anyway to serve us, since we still have a strong army as before."²⁴

E. Poetry as Political Index of the States

Since ancient times poetry has been collected in China from various districts of the country for the purpose of political reference. It was believed that what a poet has written represents his opinion, imagination, and knowledge. If many poems of an area were so collected, they could be analyzed to find out the special characteristics of that particular place. By this means, one would be able to know the cultural and political condition there.

This had been done by Woo Chi-Cha, one of the princes of Woo in 544 B.C. Though the State of Woo had been created very early it became fully developed and achieved importance quite late. It was far behind Loo, Wey, Cheng, Tsin, and others in culture. Though there were a few good poems published in the *Woo Yueh Chun Chiu*, they seemed too late to be included by Confucius in the *Book of Poetry*. However, Woo Chi-Cha comprehended well the high culture attained by the states in the north. He went on a tour, first to Loo where he asked Shuh-Sun Pao to introduce him to hear the music of Chou. The Duke of Loo ordered the musicians to sing for him many pieces of odes, lyrics, and songs that were popular in that period.

There are four distinguished classes or groups, of which the first one is entitled *Kuo Fung* or Culture of the State. It consists of 160 pieces, while the total of the other three groups is less than 150.

In the first group there are fourteen sub-groups mainly under the title of the states or nations. Each piece of the sub-group had been sung by musicians with the exception of the thirteenth one. After recitation of each sub-group, Woo Chi-Cha made a comment thereupon. With regard to the first two sub-groups, he said, "Admirable, here was the good foundation laid by the king, though not complete, yet there is endeavor without resentment." On the succeeding three sub-groups, he said, "Admirable, deep was the influence," and mentioned the names of the poets who had written those poems. The three sub-groups represent three states of the region, the last one of which is the famous Wey.

After the musicians sang the Wang, the sixth sub-group. Woo Chi-Cha was also pleased, saying, "Excellent! with profound thought without trepidation." He thought those pieces must have been composed after the removal of the Chou capital to Loyang. The Wang here means the king's domain consisting of six hundred square li with Loyang in the center. Then they came to Tse, mainly occupying an area in present-day Shantung. He exclaimed, "Excellent! How loudly sound those pieces!" Indeed, a great state! close to the East Sea. Later they came to the other five states in the order different from the one found in the *Book of Poetry* to-day. After recitation of each sub-group, he made frank criticisms but he did not say anything "on Kuai and Chao." Since then, "From Kuai downward," a term is to denote a thing which is not up to the standard. It is still used in conversation as well as in literary work. When they came to the other three main groups, Woo Chi-Cha also expressed his admiration. All those odes had been collected and preserved

for the purpose of promoting good government and virtuous manners. They have handed down a faithful picture of the social and political condition of the country in general and in particular.²⁵

Romanization

Although the Wade-Giles system is not correct and rather corrupted, here we generally use it with only a few modifications such as:

Chyn	for Ch'in
Loo	for Lu
Wey	for Wei
Tse	for Chi
Tsoo	for Ch'u
Woo	for Wu
Lii	for Li
Yih	for i
The Ho	for the Yellow River
The Kiang	for the Yangtze

List of Abbreviations

BP	Book of Poetry
BH	Book of History
TC	The Tso Chuan
KY	The Kuo Yu
KYC	The Kung Yang Chuan
KLC	The Ku-Liang Chuan
LSCC	The Lu Shih Chun Chiu
TCCSPM	The Tso Chuan Chi Shih Pen Mo
SC	The Shih Chi

The number of poems in the *Book of Poetry* is 305. The figure given here is to denote its number and after the period the number of its stanza. For example, 136.2 is No. 136, stanza 2.

NOTES

1. "Kung Yu Ta Pang" or appeal to the great State- a phrase Arthur Waley rendered as "Empty-handed in a great land" is a great error. The character "Kung" as we know formed by 'hand and empty' means chiefly to accuse or to appeal to the higher court. Empty here used as phonetic sign has no meaning. Waley went on to say that the authoress of this little poem speaks of her small State as a 'Great land' out of conventional courtesy. This is indeed ridiculous.
2. TC p. 236-237.
3. TC p. 347.
4. KY p. 262.
5. KY V. 10 p. 9-10.
6. TC p. 419.
7. TC p. 452.
8. TC p. 359, 360, 387, 389.
9. TCCSPM V. 4 p. 4.
10. TC p. 359.
11. TC p. 411, 412, 413.
12. BP 87 A song of two stanzas with five lines each. The last line:

Fool! you are a damned fool!
Tsi-Chan did not chant it showing his politeness.
13. LSCC
14. LSCC V. 10 p. 139.
15. BP 247. 5-5 denoting the number of its stanza.
16. BP 210. 1.
17. BP 304. 4.
18. KYC V. 17 p. 122.
19. KY V. 5 p. 3.
20. SC p. 20, 143.
21. TC p. 362.
22. TC p. 391, 397.
23. TC p. 440.
24. ditto.
25. TC p. 400, 401.

Taiwan in Pre-World War II Guidebooks

Harold M. Otness

Old guidebooks are the historical records of tourism. They preserve for us descriptions of sights of their day judged notable and worth seeking out. They tell us of the state of transportation services then available, the accommodations, and, through their advice and sometimes poorly camouflaged opinions, they recreate the intellectual and social atmosphere under which tourists saw and evaluated their initial contacts with exotic lands and cultures. And it was these early impressions of travelers that helped to mould the relationships between cultures that bind us together even today. That these old guidebooks are not more widely known and appreciated by social historians today is unfortunate, for they are often lively, provocative, and fascinating documents.

In the case of Asia, there are relatively few surviving guidebooks which preserve the record of early Western tourist contact. The eastern rim of the Pacific Ocean was not a popular tourist destination for Westerners until the jet airplane put it within easy reach in the 1960's. Its remoteness, its lack of tourist facilities, its strange cultural heritage including totally incomprehensible languages, its political uncertainties, and rumors of its

unhealthy climate and sanitation kept it from becoming a popular tourist area of the magnitude of Europe. While it offered considerable inducements for missionaries and businessmen, pleasure-seeking vacationers went elsewhere.

Some of the more adventurous tourists did visit Asia, of course, usually on round-the-world-cruises which were popular early in this century. This offered them a quick glance at Japan and the treaty ports along the China Coast, but very few of them had the opportunity to set foot on Taiwan, although they might have seen the island sailing by. Taiwan had a reputation of savagery. There were tales of shipwrecked sailors washed ashore and badly treated by the aborigines up to the middle of the last century. Even after this era, Taiwan lacked a major spectacular tourist attraction such as the Great Wall of China to lure tourists. No major Western contacts developed because the island then offered too little trade. Few Western ships carrying passengers called at Taiwan's ports. And until the Japanese takeover in 1895, there was virtually no attempt to draw tourists. Outside of a very few consuls, some traders, and missionaries, Taiwan had no Western residents and only a trickle of curiosity-seekers.

When the Japanese administration on Taiwan got on firm footing soon after the turn of the century, an attempt was made to tap some of the tourist potential, but it was always secondary to the exploitation of natural resources for export to the Japanese home islands. The port system and railroads were developed primarily to get out the sugar, rice, camphor, and hardwoods; that they could also serve free-spending tourists from other lands was simply a bonus. As time went on, there was some advantage in hosting Western visitors, to show off the Japanese colonial administration which was at least economically profitable, if open to criticism in other respects. But as Taiwan's role in Japanese military expansion into Southeast Asia became more evident in the 1930's, the door which had only been partly opened to tourism once again closed tight.

The earliest tourist guidebook description of Taiwan is found in Basil Chamberlain's long-standing classic *Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, a part of the famous John Murray series published in London. Chamberlain, a professor of Japanese at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and his co-author W.B. Mason who served in the Imperial Japanese Department of Communications and was a member of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, were two of the most knowledgeable authorities on Asia. Their guidebook, which first came out around 1880 was the unchallenged authority on Japan for many decades. The early editions made no mention of Taiwan because it was then under Chinese rule, but the fifth edition of 1899 added to its subtitle the phrase "... and the Whole Empire from Yezo (Hokkaido) to Formosa." It was sketchy coverage at first but the eighth edition of 1907

devoted seven pages to the island, and even included a color map.

According to Chamberlain, a visit to Taiwan soon after the turn-of-the-century required a four-and-a-half-day voyage from Kobe via Moji on the ships of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha or Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Other services of less frequency were available from Foochow, Hong Kong, Amoy, and Swatow. The railroad network on Taiwan was far from complete although rapid progress was then being made. Coastal vessels served the port of Anping where they had to anchor two miles offshore and transfer their passengers and cargo onto curvey bamboo rafts for a sometimes very exciting ride over the surf to dry land. Those landing at Makung in the Pescadores were warned that there was little to see there and that it was ten days between sailings.

So much for the countryside, but Taipei didn't offer much for the tourist either. "Sights, properly so called, there are none," wrote Chamberlain, but he did recommend such "public institutions" as the camphor and opium factories and the Commercial Museum which was a creation of the Japanese government to stimulate trade. There were then no accommodations for Westerners in the capital and they had to stay in a Japanese-style inn in Peitou (then Hokuto) which had two rooms furnished in European style.

Chamberlain did not paint Taiwan in glowing tourist terms. His descriptions were very brief and he seemed to imply that no one would really want to visit unless sent on business. It is not clear whether Chamberlain himself actually toured the island or based his remarks on information supplied by correspondents, a number of whom were mentioned in his preface.

In 1904 the Nippon Yusen Kaisha

issued in English its *Handbook of Information for Shippers & Passengers by Steamers of the N.Y.K.* which devoted eleven pages of text and photographs to Taiwan. This company began servicing the island in 1894 when it carried troops here under charter to the Japanese government and at one point it had fifty ships in that service. Like its rival the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, it offered a subsidized service from Kobe and first-class passage with European food cost 12 Yen. Looking ahead to the day of great tourist activity, its guidebook praised the splendid natural beauty of the island, but admitted that it was only "partially developed" and that large areas were still under the control of aborigines, whom it labelled as "semi-barbaric folk." The Chinese were described as being "of a degraded type," and "subject to many vicious habits, notably the excessive use of opium." If this wasn't enough, the book went on to state "Formosa offers many inducements to the explorer, though travel in the interior is attended with risk." This guidebook did little to encourage the tourist.

Four years later the Formosan Government Railway Bureau painted a brighter picture for tourists in its small booklet *A Guide to Formosan Railway*, which was issued again in 1912. It praised the achievements of the Japanese colonial government in making Taipei into a modern city. "The obnoxious walls have been pulled down," it reported of the capital's fortifications, apparently not realizing that it was sights like this which appealed to Western tourists. It recommended a visit to the Botanical Garden where "a delicious cup of tea can be obtained" in one of the teahouses, and the banks of the Tamsui River nearby where people came to swim in the summer. A railroad trip down the island to

Kaohsiung was suggested, but visitors were warned that Keelung was a fortified zone and that no cameras or sketchbooks were permitted there.

In 1910 another Japanese guidebook attempted to make Taiwan more attractive to visitors. The Welcome Society of Japan, which was the equivalent of an American Chamber of Commerce, devoted ten pages of its *Guide-Book for Tourists in Japan* to the island and here we can begin to see the touting of Taiwan as a tourist destination. Peitou was glowingly described as "the prettiest and healthiest spot in Formosa." The Taiwan Railway Hotel in Taipei, completed in 1908 at a reported cost of 500,000 Yen and the first, and for many years the only thoroughly Western-style hotel on the island, carried a full-page advertisement and photograph. A trip by train down the island to Tainan took twelve hours but the service was described as modern and comfortable. However the overall coverage was brief and the reader was left with the impression that Japan proper was a much superior tourist destination.

The Japan Imperial Government Railways' *Official Guide to Eastern Asia; Vol. II South-Western Japan* was first published in 1914 and in its ten pages on Taiwan tourism was given little play. Two suggested itineraries were offered—one of five days and the other of seven days and both involved railroad trips from Taipei to Tainan. Taipei then had 91,000 residents. Maruyama Park, south across the Keelung River from the present-day Grand Hotel "whence good views are obtained" and Taihoku Park (now Taipei Park by the Provincial Museum), "a dense growth of trees, which afford refreshing shade," were recommended tourist attractions, as were the Commercial Museum, the Governor General's Residence, the

Formosan Bank, and the Formosan Hospital — a rather dreary selection of offerings in the eyes of most Western tourists.

Outside of the capital, this guidebook mentioned the goldmines then in operation around Keelung, but the city itself only had 17,000 residents and no tourist attractions. The Dutch ruins at Anping were noted for their tourist interest but they were then being partly used by the Japanese as a military hospital. Other attractions included a model sugarcane plantation and mill near Kaohsiung, some reclamation activity in the south where “the scenery is good,” a few local shrines, some of which had been rededicated to Japanese heroes, some statues of Japanese administrators, and the spa at Peitou. Makung in the Pescadores, where “water and wood are absent,” was noted for its castle, light-house, and the tomb of Admiral Courbert, the commander of the French Squadron during the Franco-Chinese troubles of 1884-5. This guidebook gave little encouragement to visit the mountainous central and east coast of Taiwan where the aborigines were still hostile, and indeed the book was slanted more towards the business traveler than the tourist.

The year 1914 also saw the publication of an American guidebook, *Terry's Guide to the Japanese Empire* by T. Philip Terry, a twelve-year resident of Tokyo and a frequent traveler within the Empire. It was his aim, as stated in the foreword, to provide “practical, helpful, and unbiased information. . . avoiding bleakness and stodginess” — an apparent reference to the quasi-official Japanese guidebooks. Reprinted at least twice over the next fourteen years, this was by far the best guidebook for introducing Westerners to Taiwan. It devoted over thirty pages

to the island and included color maps.

Although Terry was respectful of the Japanese administration of the island, he knew that Westerners would not be interested in seeing sugar mills and other commercial developments. He was an enthusiast of the scenery itself, and he was the first Westerner to really promote Taiwan as a tourist destination. He wrote:

The island is one of rare beauty and charm, a bizarre blend of civilization and savagery; of snow-clad mtns. and the lush vegetation of the semi-tropics; of the 16th cent. Orient and the 20th cent. Occident. In one respect it offers the *blasé* traveler a combination rarely met with anywhere, — the possibility of hobnobbing with savages reclaimed with the thinnest kind of veneer, who secretly want the visitor's head, but are prevented by Japanese law from taking anything more portable than his small change. . . The aim of the Japanese is to make of Formosa a tropical garden that will attract travelers from everywhere, and much money and effort are being expended to this end.

This guidebook had considerable coverage of the aborigines and how to visit them. Unlike the Japanese of the day, Terry was outwardly sympathetic of their plight and hoped that much of their culture would not be destroyed in the attempts to assimilate them. Terry also noted with irritation some of the restrictions placed on tourist movement by the Japanese. Writing of Keelung, he noted that “cameras are regarded with suspicion” and that the hills that ring it were dotted with “grim steel guns looking seaward with wicked intent.”

Terry provided a detailed description of what the tourist could expect on his visit to Taiwan in the 1920's. English-speaking “runners” dispatched by the

Taiwan Railway Hotel in Taipei met the incoming ships at Keelung to assist the tourists through "the custom-house and in dealing with the hordes of screeching Chinese coolies who essay to carry the travelers' luggage to the station." The short train journey to Taipei was vividly described with its steep hills, lush vegetation, and particularly its brilliant flowers. Terry thought that this was one of the most picturesque train rides in all of Asia.

In Taipei itself Terry quickly dismissed shopping, that popular tourist pastime. "The best (shops) are poor and contain nothing to interest foreigners. . . One will search in vain for desirable curios." He warned that old postage stamps were likely to be forgeries, and that the "imitation Chinese porcelains are made in Japan and are of the trashiest order." He thought that the best buy was the wood carvings made at the local prison by the prisoners. A card of admission could be obtained from the manager of the Taiwan Railway Hotel, where virtually all foreign visitors stayed.

Terry likened Taipei to Sapporo, Japan, in respect to its broad streets and spacious parks which were features of the Japanese district of the city. "The city is embowered in flowering trees," and then he added "The military air is pleasing to foreigners; the barracks are filled with soldiers, and the sound of bugles is heard often." Terry mentioned the standard tourist attractions such as the Commercial Museum, the Botanical Garden, and the Monopoly Bureau where camphor was refined and opium processed. Of the latter, he reported that Taiwan had 100,000 users, a declining number in light of the strong efforts on the part of the government to license only long-time users and prevent the younger people from taking up the habit by not

permitting them access to the drug.

Like the other guidebooks, *Terry's* recommended the railroad trip to the south of the island. He reported excellent facilities and services and remarked that in passing through the smaller towns in the south:

Various interesting racial types assemble to see the "fire-spitting" engine of the "foreign devil," and here the hybrid Chinese seem to take on a languorous, lackadaisical air, as if in tune with the lush tropics. . . The men elbow the women aside in the most ruthless manner, with a keen eye for number one, and a large disdain for the hindmost.

Terry went on to write:

At all the big stations one sees the silent power behind the throne in the shape of spruce, helmeted, beleggined, gloved, dignified, ceremonious, but unfailingly helpful Japanese military men. . . As a rule they are as restless as the bug professor in July — mapping the country, classifying the plants, climbing unexplored mtns., building waterworks. . . and pushing their dragnets closer and closer about the murderous savage tribes. . . They seem to exercise the British qualities of tact, patience, and firmness in dealings with the natives.

The historical associations of Tainan and Anping were mentioned, but Terry warned that this area was "unhealthy" in the summer months. He advised that travelers here drink bottled water from Japan. The Tainan Museum was "inferior" to that of Taipei.

Up in the mountains, Terry recommended the Sun Moon Lake as being "picturesquely situated" and a good spot for observing the "reclaimed savages."

Unfortunately it required a four-day hike from Taichung and "Under no consideration should the journey be undertaken without consulting the Japanese authorities, as head-hunters not infrequently stray down from the mtns. on bloody forays, and foreign life is held as cheaply by them as Chinese. Furthermore, foreign heads are novelties!" With advice like this most tourists chose to skip the Sun Moon Lake. Even Alishan, in spite of its completed and utterly spectacular railway, was not a journey to be lightly undertaken. "The country is too crude yet to be comfortable," Terry wrote, "and the traveler who penetrates it to the lumber camps must be prepared to rough it." There were virtually no Western-style accommodations for the tourists with the exception of the Taiwan Railway Hotel in Taipei. A handful of other cities offered Japanese-style inns, but that was the extent of tourist facilities even through the 1920's.

As for day trips out of Taipei, Terry recommended Peitou which he termed a "locally celebrated Hot Spring" and he mentioned that mineral water was bottled here and sold in the capital, but he called Tamsui a "wretched Chinese town" in spite of its Spanish and Dutch associations, and he said it was "unpicturesque and not over-healthy." One could also take a pushcart, a coolie-propelled cart running on narrow-gauge rails, from Taipei south up to Wulai, but even this journey required a police escort, and it was not a comfortable trip. "The road is bad, and is apt to be impassable in rainy weather. The villagers. . . are a dirty lot, with but little to show the traveler."

In spite of Terry's frankness, he found much to praise in Taiwan and his guidebook probably helped somewhat to stimulate tourism among his Western

readers, but overall the island remained in the backwash of international tourism.

In 1926 the United States Department of Commerce published its *Commercial Traveler's Guide to the Far East* which devoted only four pages to Taiwan. It described Taipei as "perhaps the finest city in the Japanese Empire," but it noted that American vessels called at Taiwan ports only occasionally, and mostly during the tea shipping season lasting from May to October. Americans needed passports with visas issued at their port of departure. Few Americans seemed to be making the trip as tourists.

In 1929 the Canadian Pacific Steamship Co. made Taiwan a one-day stop on its widely advertised and expensive "round-the-world" cruise. Its "Empress of Australia" tied up at Keelung on February 19th and sent its passengers on a special train to Taipei for the afternoon. Their promotional guidebook described it as follows:

Jinrickshas wait for us and round the sights we go, some considering the camphor factory to be the most interesting, others finding a gruesome pleasure in the opium factory that provides the drug under government monopoly not only for medical use but for the licensed smokers whose number Japan is doing her best to cut down. The Governor General's garden. . . entered by special permit issued only to distinguished visitors like ourselves. . . shows what the cleverest horticulturalists in the world can do when they have tropical plants to play with.

So carelessly written was this guidebook that the temperature of the island was described as never falling *below* ninety-six degrees! The great depression of the 1930's soon put an end to these one-day stopovers in Taiwan.

A 1930 edition of the Japan Hotel Association's *Specimen Tours in Japan* gave as its "Itinerary No. 42" a twelve-day ramble through Taiwan for the more adventurous traveler. It suggested two days in Taipei with a day trip to Wulai to see the aborigines, a day in Chiayi, a trip up the railway to Alishan which by then had a clubhouse with European rooms but no Western food, two days at Tainan and another two days at Kaohsiung. The visitor then returned to Taipei for another two days at the Taiwan Railway Hotel, presumably for rest, before departing from Keelung. This guidebook described Taiwan as "an island of rare beauty and natural interest," and free of "oppressive heat" and "infectious diseases." Apparently these statements were made to counteract the still prevailing notion that Taiwan was an unhealthy place to visit.

The 1930's brought not only a worldwide depression that cut heavily into international tourism, but Taiwan's colonial government became more and more militaristic and as the island took on increased strategic importance for the Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia, visitors were less welcomed. Nevertheless, the Japan Imperial Government Railways guidebooks continued to come out in revised editions, and through them can be traced the expansion of the transportation network on the island. The 1933 edition still only devoted ten pages to Taiwan but it included a beautiful color map with insets of the center of Taipei at 1:30,000 and Keelung at 1:40,000. I know of no more attractive maps in any of the guidebooks to Taiwan published today or in the past.

Steamship service from Japanese ports had been shortened to seventy-three hours. Three companies, all Japanese,

offered a total of twelve sailings per month. Adding the weekly services from Okinawa and the frequent sailings from the ports of the Chinese mainland, there were passenger accommodations (primarily on freighters) in and out almost daily. Yet most of this traffic seems to have been commercial rather than tourist. Great numbers of Japanese were coming to the island as immigrants or military or government workers, and the shipping of raw materials to Japan was heavy. For those tourists who did come, it was possible to buy combined steamship-railway tickets with "coupon excursion tickets" in the manner of those popularized by the English travel agent Thomas Cook in other parts of the world. These coupons provided not only convenience but also discounts. Suggested itineraries continued to be confined to the western side of the island along the main railroad line. Now motorcars could be hired by the hour in "all important cities" in addition to the rickshaws. Ten yen per day, plus transportation costs, would cover most visitors' needs, this guidebook tells us.

Tourist attractions were still limited. The Botanical Garden and Commercial Museum remained Taipei's major sights. The mountain areas were off-limits to the casual visitor, but now more for military reasons than concern for aborigine uprisings. Even the trip up to Alishan was restricted — only the first thirty-five miles out of Chiayi were open to general passenger traffic. The east coast city of Hualien could now be reached from the railhead at Suao over a newly completed road cut into the seacliffs. The state of this road was suggested by the fact that it took five and a half hours to negotiate its seventy-eight miles by bus. From Hualien one

could visit the Taroku Gorge, or at least its eastern end. The road through the gorge was not completed for vehicle traffic until the mid-1960's, two decades after the re-establishment of Chinese rule in the island.

An abridgment and revision of the above guidebook, *A Pocket Guide to Japan* published in 1939, was the last of the pre-World War II volumes to describe Taiwan to the prospective tourist. There were now six golf courses on the island. (the first had been completed in Tamsui in 1919), Mt. Morrison could be climbed in two days and there was a choice of three trails but government permission for the climb was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain, and the railroad line from Hualien to Taitung had just been completed, thus making the east coast more accessible to the tourist. But the island still had only one completely European-style hotel and very little tourist traffic. Those who did visit most likely stayed in Taipei and took a day trip into the nearby mountains to see the aborigines. There were few articles in the tourist — oriented Western magazines describing Taiwan and promoting it as a tourist destination. The Japanese shipping companies mentioned Keelung as a port-of-call in their advertisements but made little effort to attract foreign passengers. Almost all of Taiwan's trade was directed at Japan and it was in the hands of Japanese businessmen. Taiwan remained an out-of-the-way spot, best known as a place to see savages, but an awkward and perhaps uncomfortable place to visit.

This 1939 guidebook did, however, give an indication of the change that would come following World War II. Commercial airline service between Taiwan and Japan began in 1936 and one could now fly from Fukuoka to Taipei

in about seven hours. It cost 110 Yen which was about twice that of first-class steamship fare but it made Taiwan much more accessible. Passengers were not permitted to take any photographs from these airplanes as the entire route, which included a stop at Okinawa, was considered a strategic zone. A nicer note was that passengers were requested to be at the airport only twenty minutes before take-off.

One last guidebook completes this survey. It was not of the pre-war era but of the war itself and it was written for American military personnel who might find themselves unwelcomed visitors. *Guide to the Western Pacific*, published in 1944 when an Allied invasion of the island was still a possibility, devoted eight pages to Taiwan. It included some historical background, heavily laced with wartime propaganda, a description of the physical setting, including the fact that there are as many as 330 earthquakes per year and eleven varieties of poisonous snakes, and a rather lengthy list of prevalent diseases. Servicemen reading this guidebook would not want to see Taiwan as a vacation spot at all.

It was the ocean-spanning jet plane of the 1960's, and a stabilizing of the political situation in East Asia that led to the real beginning of the tourist era in Taiwan. This tourism helped to fuel the economic expansion by bringing in hard currencies, and it led to a better understanding of the conditions in Taiwan by Westerners.

The early tourist guidebooks mentioned here can only suggest the roots of the beginnings of this tourist phenomenon. They showed a colonial Taiwan, a somewhat backwater place where life was primarily agricultural and moved at a slower pace, where aborigines roamed the

mountains at will, still taking heads on occasion, a place where the tourist traveled by rickshaw and pushcart and by steam-powered trains. A visit to Taiwan was an adventure of unfamiliar accommodations, strange foods, and languages that were complete mysteries to Westerners. The heat and humidity could be oppressive in days preceding air-conditioners and the risk to one's health was always present. Taiwan was not itself worth a trip across the Pacific Ocean; but if one was visiting Japan or the China Coast, it was an interesting stopover, a diversion, a curiosity. The attitude expressed in these old guidebooks seemed to be that if one wanted to see the Chinese and Chinese culture in its fullest bloom, then one should go to the mainland. What Taiwan could offer that could not be found on the mainland was the aborigines, and seeing them involved some risk or at least discomfort. While the opportunity to observe the Japanese colonial administration would interest the more serious observers of the political and economic scene, most tourists cared little for such things. Tourists, after all, traveled for pleasure.

These early guidebooks preserve for us

a unique view of Taiwan as seen by, and as presented to, Westerners. They were never printed in great numbers, and they were usually discarded when the journey they served was over. The list following this article is an almost complete listing of the English language guidebooks covering Taiwan for the first half of this century. About half of these volumes can be found in the excellent Taiwan historical collection in the Taiwan Branch Library of the National Central Library in Taipei, a collection originally assembled by the Japanese. Others may be found in the major university libraries of the island. No single library in Taiwan has them all, and it is likely that a couple of them are not to be found in Taiwan today.

The major guidebooks of this era were by T. Philip Terry, Basil Chamberlain, and the Japan Imperial Government Railways — they deserve a place among the standard works on Taiwan's history. The others were ephemeral and really supplemental to the first three. But all these guidebooks have helped preserve the records of the beginnings of tourism in Taiwan which is today an important component in the economic fabric of the Republic of China.

THE GUIDEBOOKS:

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Federated States of Micronesia Fact Sheet

DESCRIPTION

The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) is a new Nation now concluding a Compact of Free Association with the United States. It is composed of the four central districts or island groups of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The four island groups or States, as formed under the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia, are Kosrae, Ponape, Truk, and Yap.

The Federated States of Micronesia covers some one million square miles of the western Pacific Ocean beginning one degree south of the equator and reaching to 13.5 degrees north of the equator; and from 135 degrees to 166 degrees east longitude. It includes more than 600 islands and islets.

Land areas for the four island groups or States of the Federated States of Micronesia are: Kosrae, 42.8 square miles; Ponape, 133.4 square miles; Truk, 49.18 square miles; and Yap, 45.92 square miles. The total land area of the FSM is 271.30 square miles.

Temperatures in the FSM range from the mid-70's to the mid-90's. Rainfall is heavy in Ponape and Kosrae whereas Truk and Yap have pronounced dry spells. Humidity averages 80 percent throughout the FSM.

POPULATION

Estimated 1981 mid-year population of the Federated States of Micronesia was 78,570, broken down as follows: Kosrae, 5,010; Ponape, 23,920; Truk, 40,010; and Yap, 9,630. The ethnic groups which make up the citizenry of the FSM are identified by several languages, namely: Trukese, Ponapean, Kosraen, Yapese, Nukuoran, Kapingamarangi, Ulithian, and Woleaian. Naturalized FSM citizens of Filipino and Japanese ancestry make up a growing new ethnic group in the FSM. Other nationals and residents of other Asian and Pacific countries work and live in the FSM.

Approximately, one-half of the FSM population is below 15 years of age.

HISTORY

The island groups of the Federation gained worldwide attention in the late 1600's during the zenith of the Spanish exploration of the Pacific. The Spanish influence on the islands was messianic, while the coming of the German administration in the 1800's introduced trading and economic incentives. The outbreak of World War I brought Japan's presence to the area authorized through the League of Nations mandate. With World War II,

the United States assumed control of the islands concluding a succession of administrations that has spanned almost 400 years.

In 1947, the United Nations Security Council granted the islands to the United States as a strategic Trust Territory, with the United Nations Trusteeship Council overseeing the administration. Included were the Marianas, excluding Guam, the Palau Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Carolines, the islands which now comprise the FSM. The U.S. administration was comprised of a High Commissioner who represented the U.S. Department of the Interior; a High Court System appointed by the U.S. Government; and the recent addition in 1965 of a territorial legislative body, the Congress of Micronesia, elected by the indigenous population.

In 1975, leaders of the various island groups convened and drafted a constitution for a nation to be known as the Federated States of Micronesia. Since then, the Mariana Islands have opted to become a Commonwealth of the United States, a status similar to that of Puerto Rico. During a 1978 referendum, the voters of the Palau and Marshall Islands failed to ratify the Constitution. Only the four central island groups of the Trust Territory ratified the Constitution. In 1979, the Constitution of the FSM went into effect, and the four island groups became the four States of the Federated States of Micronesia.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The Federated States of Micronesia is a constitutional democracy. Levels of government are National, state, and local. The Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia provides for legisla-

tive, executive, and judiciary branches on the National level.

The Government system differs slightly from the United States system in that the Chief Executive is elected by the National legislature from among its membership and not by the population at large. Once elected as President or Vice President, the person automatically vacates his seat in the National legislature.

NATIONAL LEGISLATURE

The National legislature is the Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia consisting of 14 Members, four elected at-large based on State equality, and 10 based on population. As a result, the State of Truk, with its large population, elects six Members, the State of Ponape, four Members, while Kosrae and Yap have two Members each.

The 10 Congress Members elected on the basis of population are up for election every two years, while the four at-large Members face election every four years. Only Members elected for four years are eligible to be elected President or Vice President. A Speaker, a Vice Speaker, and a Floor Leader preside over the Congress. Five committees and various subcommittees operate in the Congress.

The five major committees are:

The Committee on Ways and Means (financial matters);

The Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Operations (legal);

The Committee on Health, Education and Social Affairs (social);

The Committee on Resources and Development (economic development); and

The Committee on External Affairs (external and internal relations).

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

The executive branch of the National Government is directed by a President and a Vice President, elected from among the four-year Members of the Congress. A special election is held to fill the automatically vacated seats.

The cabinet of the President consists of four major Departments and six support offices. The Departments, headed by Secretaries, are the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Finance, the Department of Resources and Development, and the Department of Social Services. The offices are the Office of Budget, the Office of Information, the Office of Planning and Statistics, the Office of the Public and Statistics, the Office of the Public Defender, and the Office of Personnel. Assisting the President are special assistants, appointed to serve at the pleasure of the President.

When the FSM Constitution went into effect in 1979, the Congress elected the first FSM President and Vice President. They are presently serving their first four-year term, which will expire in 1983. The President and Vice President are:

The Honorable Tosiwo Nakayama, (State of Truk) — President; and

The Honorable Petrus Tun, (State of Yap) — Vice President.

THE DEPARTMENTS

The External Affairs Department is responsible for all foreign affairs. The Divisions of Internal Relations, United States Relations, Micronesian Relations, and the Micronesian Washington Office and the FSM Liaison Offices in Guam and

Honolulu, Hawaii, are under this Department.

The Department of Finance is responsible for all the financial transactions of the FSM National Government. It controls all monies in the National Government and accounts for all monies paid into and out of the General Fund. The Department consists of the Divisions of Accounting, Property and Supply, Revenue, and the National Treasury.

The Department of Resources and Development is responsible for agricultural development, tourism, labor, immigration, corporations, transportation, communications, and marine resources. Within it are the Divisions of Energy, Commerce and Industry, Labor, Transportation, Tourism, and Immigration.

The Department of Social Services is responsible for assisting the States in coordinating programs for health, education, and other social programs. Within it are the Divisions of Education and Health.

THE OFFICES

The Office of the Attorney General serves as legal counsel and as representative of the President; it also provides certain law enforcement services. The Divisions of Litigation and Law and Public Safety are under this Office.

The Office of Budget prepares and reviews the executive budget in accordance with Presidential policies, plans management improvements in the National Government, advises the President and other officials, and generally coordinates budgetary and management matters. The Divisions of Budget Preparation and Administrative Management are within this Office.

The Office of Information prepares

and disseminates news releases, photographs, and other information about events affecting the people of the Federated States of Micronesia, especially those related to the National Government, and advises the President and other officials on public information policies and methods. The Office has no internal divisions, but its duties also include broadcasting services and the publication of the *National Union*.

The Office of Personnel administers the personnel of the National Government, including its training activities and its staff housing, and it advises the President and other officials on employment, pay, and related activities. Included in the Office are the Divisions of Personnel Administration and Training.

The Office of Planning and Statistics drafts National and sectorial development plans, monitors some aspects of their implementation, coordinates the administration of United States Federal programs in the Federated States of Micronesia, and advises the President and other officials on medium-term and long-term development policies. The Divisions of Planning, Statistics, Federal Program Coordination, and Construction Review are in this Office.

The Office of the Public Defender provides legal representation for persons in criminal cases and in specified civil matters. Attached to the executive branch only for purposes of administrative and logistic support, it is responsible to its clients.

NATIONAL JUDICIARY

The National judiciary of the FSM Government is the Supreme Court, which at present has two justices. The Justices of the FSM Supreme Court are appointed

by the President with the approval of the Congress. Justices serve for life. Because the Federated States of Micronesia is still underdeveloped, a severe shortage of trained indigenous lawyers exists. Because of this, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Associate Justice are both American citizens. Both justices, however, have pledged to actively seek indigenous replacements as soon as possible.

THE STATE GOVERNMENTS

Each of the four States has a government created under a charter. The States' charters are documents, short of constitutions, which provide for the framework for each State government. The charters were created by the former Congress of Micronesia in an effort to provide for internal self-rule which previously had been lacking.

The State charters provide for State legislative, executive and judiciary branches. The State legislative branches are elected positions, as are the State chief executives. The latter are called Governors, replacing the former district administrators appointed by the Trust Territory High Commissioner. The State judiciaries are appointive posts. One state — Yap — also provides for a fourth branch of government—councils of traditional and hereditary leaders.

Each of the four States has a Lieutenant Governor assisting the Governor in administering the State. Legislative bodies range from the 10-member State legislature in Yap to the Truk State Legislature with 28 members.

POWERS OF GOVERNMENT

The Federated States of Micronesia

Government exists to serve the needs of the States of the Federation. The Constitution specifically provided for a weak central Government, with more powers accorded to the States. The central Government serves as a coordinating center for affairs of the States regarding foreign relations, joint interests, interstate commerce, air and marine regulation, banking and usury, currency issuance, immigration control, major crimes, national security, insurance, and other common interest powers. The States retain all other powers not listed above, which include education, health, minor crimes, investment, and other local matters. Some powers are shared by the National and State Governments, especially in the social affairs sector.

To date, the National Government has legislated to regulate banking, foreign investments, immigration, and foreign relations. The National Government is actively negotiating with the United States for a free association status once the Trusteeship Agreement is terminated. Under the proposal, the FSM will receive financial assistance from the United States for 15 years, with the United States retaining defense rights in the area. Both the constitutional Governments of Palau and the Marshall Islands are also negotiating with the U.S.

State governments are not allowed to negotiate with foreign governments; that power is reserved for the National Government. In exercising that power, the National Government has successfully regulated the fishing activities of foreign fishing nations within the FSM 200-mile zone. Currently, fishing agreements exist between the FSM and fishing associations in Japan, the American Tunaboat Association, a Korean fishing company, and Star-Kist Foods, Inc., of

the United States. A previous agreement with Republic of China fishing concerns expired and has not been renewed.

The FSM has ratified the South Pacific Bureau of Economic Cooperation (SPEC) Agreement and has joined that organization. SPEC is the economic arm of the South Pacific Forum, an organization of sovereign nations in the South Pacific. Membership for the FSM in the South Pacific Forum is being vigorously sought.

EDUCATION SYSTEM

The Federation has an American-style educational system, a remnant of the more than 30 years of American administration of the area. Eight years of primary school education are required, with four more years of secondary or high school optional. All four States of the Federation have at least one public high school and scores of regional public grade schools. Several private primary and secondary schools exist in the country. Instruction is usually bilingual in the primary grades, with some private schools using only English as the medium of instruction.

The College of Micronesia, established in 1977, provides the only post-secondary education in the Federation. It consists of the two-year Community College of Micronesia, the Community College of Micronesia Nursing School, and the Micronesian Occupational College located in Koror, Republic of Belau. The College of Micronesia is a joint institution among the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Belau, and the Marshall Islands.

HEALTH

Health services in the Federation are

provided through central hospitals and dispensaries in the municipalities and on the outer islands. The four States all have modern hospitals, but the hospital in the State of Truk is deteriorating as a result of poor maintenance and design. The new 50-bed hospital in Yap was completed after lengthy delays in construction. The Ponape Hospital was meant to be used also as a referral facility, but lack of funding has delayed such use. Kosrae has a fairly small but adequate facility.

Dispensaries in the municipalities and the outer islands provide basic preventive and curative services to a large segment of the indigenous population. Transportation difficulties limit the amount of services available in the municipalities and the outer islands. Staffing the dispensaries are paramedicals or "Medexes" and nurses aides. Lack of necessary supplies plagues these dispensaries.

The central hospitals also suffer from lack of funds to hire trained medical personnel, to purchase critically needed supplies, and to upgrade and maintain the health facilities. Public health personnel at the central hospitals provide insufficient service in attempting to provide health education. Immunization in the Federation, however, is well provided through the assistance of the World Health Organization (WHO). WHO-sponsored training opportunities have also helped in upgrading the skills of health personnel.

TRANSPORTATION

Sea transportation in the FSM is provided with small field trip ships specifically designed for service to the outer islands. The outer islands are all coral atolls with fringing reefs which require the service of small craft. Most

outer islands have channels which enable the ships to enter the lagoons. Other islands, however, are not so well blessed. The field trip ships also provide emergency medical evacuation for the outer islands.

The Federation is serviced from outside the nation by shipping companies owned by outside interests. The Philippines, Micronesia and Orient Line (PM&O) from the U.S. West Coast provides direct service from the West Coast of the United States to all the States of the FSM. Saipan Shipping Company (SAISHIP) provides service through Guam to three of the States, while Palau Shipping provides service to the fourth State through Guam. Other lines which serve Guam also provide regular shipping to the FSM.

Air transportation is basically provided by Air Micronesia, a subsidiary of Continental Airlines. The service utilizes Boeing 727-100 aircraft for the short runways in the Federation. Only the State of Kosrae has yet to receive jet service. Its airport is currently under construction. Air service to Kosrae is provided by Pacific Missionary Aviation. PMA utilizes twinengine aircraft. PMA serves Kosrae, Ponape, Yap, and some of the outer islands which have short coral runways.

Air Nauru, the flag carrier of the Republic of Nauru, has flights to Ponape from Nauru and the Marshalls twice a week. Air Nauru has received permission from the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board to provide service also to the State of Truk.

COMMUNICATIONS

Communication among the States of the Federation is provided by means of

high frequency radio-telephone service owned by the Trust Territory Government. Telecommunications to global points are channeled through facilities owned by Micronesian Telecommunications Corporation in Saipan or RCA Global Communications in Guam. The Congress of the FSM recently passed legislation to create a Telecommunications Corporation for the FSM which would control telecommunications as well as all State communications in the FSM. The firm would also provide basic telephone communications in the States.

The Government of the FSM and Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT) of the United States have entered into a contract for the latter to build four satellite earth stations, one each, in the four States of the FSM.

Telephone service exists in the State capitals of the FSM, although the systems are limited in scope and problems with service exist. Most users of the phone systems are Government agencies and businesses; private subscribers are few. Communication between the State centers and the outer islands is via single-side band radios, high-frequency radio, and other means. Lack of fossil fuels has forced the FSM to increase the use of solar-powered radios for basic communications within the FSM.

MEDIA

Four Government-owned radio stations operate in the FSM using medium-wave frequencies. These stations are licensed by the United States Federal Communications Commission. All stations operate 18 hours a day. No private broadcast facilities in the FSM exist.

Three States — Ponape, Truk, and

Yap — have television stations, all of which are on the air for about eight hours daily. Both the Ponapean and Trukese stations are privately owned with the one in Yap owned by the Yap State Government. Programming for the stations comes out of Los Angeles, being videotaped from the three networks in the United States.

No private newspapers exist in the Federated States of Micronesia. Recent attempts at establishing newspapers in the Federation have all fallen victim to lack of capital, continuing commitments among the incorporators, and lack of advertising revenues. An FSM Government-owned biweekly paper is published by the President's Office of Information. The *National Union*, as it is called, has a press run of 5,000 copies and is distributed free in the Federation. Paid subscriptions are required for readers outside the FSM. The paper prints news of Government activities, policies, and public education issues decided by the National Government.

News from the outside world comes to the FSM through the Guam daily newspaper, the *Pacific Daily News*, airmailed to each State three times a week. A Government news service, owned by the Trust Territory Government, used to compile daily summaries of news, which were then cabled to all the Government's radio stations. News for the Micronesian News Service (MNS) was filed from time to time by the States governments' information offices. This service was terminated on September 30, 1981, with the FSM National Government putting out an FSM news service, or Federated States Information Service (FSMIS) summarizes daily reports and transmits them to the four States for dissemination. Because of the absence of

newspapers, radio still remains the most effective means of dissemination of news and political education.

FINANCE

Financial assistance to the Federated States of Micronesia comes primarily from United States block grants. Other revenues come from locally levied taxes, fishing fees, and U.S. Federal categorical grants. Also, the Government of Japan provided 300 million yen in 1981 to the FSM as foreign aid to be used to purchase construction equipment for construction of secondary roads in the FSM. The FSM economy itself is undergoing a rapid transformation.

EXTERNAL TRADE

The National Government exports copra, trochus shell, and some handicrafts, mainly to Japan. In the 1978-79 fiscal year, the total export value was only \$4 million. In contrast, the National Government imported nearly all items consumed locally except for fresh seafood and vegetables. In 1978, the total import amounted to more than \$19 million. Canned and frozen food accounted for more than one-third of the value of all imports. Manufactured goods, cars and trucks, fuel, beverages, and tobacco were the next largest import categories.

LAND TENURE

Records of ownership and transactions are very poor. Land is considered by Micronesians as invaluable and commands a place in the people's lives.

It cannot be assigned a monetary value in most areas. Indeed, both the Trust Territory Government and the Federated States of Micronesia Constitution prohibit the sale of land to non-Micronesians. Right of eminent domain as it exists in the FSM is unclear.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS

The infrastructure in the FSM is generally inadequate by standards of other U.S.-associated islands in the Pacific. Except in State centers, water supplies in the FSM have usually been water catchments from the roofs of many houses. Few farm-to-market roads and roads linking remote villages to State centers or to main villages have been constructed. Land, sea, and air transportation and infrastructure which will facilitate the future growth of the nation's economy form the main thrust of the development efforts. Some \$242 million have been earmarked by the U.S. Congress to date on these projects.

The current large infrastructure development program hopefully will lay a basis for the future growth of the economy. Future prospects lie in the development of the FSM marine resources and in the expansion of the tax base and other programs which will lead to the future economic self-sufficiency of this nation. Future economic prospects are good especially if the U.S. Government meets its economic development obligations under the 15-year Compact of Free Association covenant that is in its concluding stage.

1981-1982

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Cover: Delegates to the Sixth Asian-Pacific Cultural Scholars' Convention visiting the Island of Kinmen on August 6, 1982. The background is the celebrated Chü Kuang Tower.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Sixth Asian-Pacific Cultural Scholars' Convention was held in Taipei, Taiwan, the Republic of China, August 1-7, 1982, under the auspices of the Chinese National Group of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union. The general theme of the Convention was "Mass Communication and Cultural Exchange in the Asian-Pacific Region."

Sixty-two scholars representing eighteen countries/areas participated in the Convention. There were six keynote speeches delivered at the four Plenary Sessions, and thirty-five papers read in three simultaneously conducted Panels, under the headings of 1) the Political and Social Background of Mass Communication in the Asian-Pacific Region, 2) Problems, Solutions, and Functions of Mass Communication Media, and 3) Mass Communication Media and Cultural Exchange in the Asian-Pacific Region. All the papers and speeches will be included in due course in the Convention *Proceedings*.

Since the *Proceedings* is intended to be a factual report on Convention transactions in chronological order, in which the papers play a relatively less important role, the *Asian Culture Quarterly*, with its wide circulation, could secure the best possible publicity for these articles. Furthermore, in spite of differences in terminology, mass communications and cultural exchange share the same substance and overlap in many facets. Nothing in today's world — politics, economy, even wars — can escape the influence of the media. It is hoped that the media can help secure a lasting peace for our world. This is another reason why we have decided to publish these papers separately.

In this issue the Quarterly publishes twelve of these papers, written respectively by delegates from the Republic of China, Japan, Korea, Nauru, the Philippines, Thailand, Guam, Australia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and New Zealand, the first seven being Member countries/areas, and the rest being Observer countries of the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union. With the exception of the article by a host country delegate, all the papers appear in alphabetical order of the countries concerned. The remaining papers of the Convention will appear in a subsequent issue.

Development of Communication Policy in Japan

Mitsuru Inuta
Tokai University
Japan

I

In the 1960's, Japanese society experienced a drastic social upheaval. It was the age of "Sturm und Drang". This social cataclysm was ascribed to several sociological factors. First, Japan's old establishment lost its power and control due to the defeat in World War II. Second, social mobility showed the greatest increase ever due to abolition of the traditional land and family system which thereby stimulated individual needs for achievement. In order to properly discuss the rapid growth of the Japanese economy, however, more direct and favorable factors should be further emphasized. For instance, old plants and equipment were destroyed during World War II, and Japan's postwar recovery period coincided with worldwide technical innovation. Therefore, Japan was in a

position to introduce frontier technology and to build the most up-to-date production facilities in those days.

In the 60's Japan attained vigorous economic growth by introducing mass-production technology of mass consumption goods (as well as management technology) which was developed in the U.S.A. before World War II. This introduction of mass-production technology had the effect of activating the Japanese domestic market. It is well known that the Japanese Government played a major role in this process. Above all, the MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry) offered administrative guidance in protecting heavy and chemical industries. Even stronger protectionist policies and promotional strategies were adopted in the area of strategic industries for economic recovery in Japan (including auto and mechatronics industry).

The government's strong intervention in the economic field mentioned above was justified by the ideas of post-war rehabilitation and improvement of productivity. Thus, consensus was reached between the government and the private sector from which a cooperative system was formed, which contributed to attaining a high level of economic growth and economic independence.

On the other hand, domestic demand was also large. Beginning in the latter half of the 50's, demographical mobility from rural to urban areas became conspicuous. And those who moved to urban areas, having become liberated from old traditional customs, came to adopt urban lifestyles. Social learning of new lifestyles was made possible through the mass media, especially TV, which were rapidly developing at that time. In short, rapid "lifestyle innovation" was taking place in those days. At the same time, an American-type mass consumption society was being transplanted to Japan and began to take roots.

There is, however, a limitation to economic growth. The potentials for further growth gradually declined, and attainment of the initial targets discouraged people's aspiration for a revolution in innovations.

By the end of the 1960's, phenomena indicating an end to Japan's economic growth had already come to be observed. A clear perspective of the future of society no longer existed. Instead, a concept for a new society was eagerly sought. Reconversion theory, which indicated structural changes in the Japanese economy was actively discussed, and dual turning points in technological innovations came under discussion, too. Japan entered an age of "stalemate".

It was difficult, however, to com-

pletely alter its thrust toward an industrial society, which had been successfully sought for more than 10 years. The government, business, and the nation as a whole already realized some of the negative aspects of an industrial society, such as environmental pollution. However, despite the drawbacks, none of them wished to call for drastic changes to affect the traditional direction toward an industrialized society. The public was eager to reap the fruits of successful industrialization. Technocrats who have a special interest in promoting industrialization in Japan, gradually came to establish themselves in society. Some new ideas for Japan's direction were badly sought.

Under these circumstances, an "information-oriented society" appeared. It was a further developed and deepened form of industrial society. This concept of an "information-oriented society" was supported by the Grand Theory that society will linearly develop from agriculture to industry and finally to a post-industrial state (information-oriented society). Believing that social development must inevitably progress through such stages, the Japanese people accepted the concept of the "information-oriented society" as a new stage following industrial society. At the same time, there were high expectations that the information industry would become a leading source of economic growth after the growth rates of steel and house appliance industries declined.

II

Several conditions are necessary for a society to shift into an information-oriented society. These are as follows: society should be more affluent than at a certain previous level; The level of

technology, including computer and telecommunication technology, should be developed beyond a certain level; And an intellectual elite group which has had experience in applying its expertise to technology should exist.

As early as the beginning of the 1950's, Japan had already returned to its pre-war affluence. By the 50's, per capita income had reached US\$1,000. First generation computers were introduced to several big business by the end of the 50's. In the 60's, computerization swiftly took place, with second generation computers being introduced to a large number of enterprises. At the same time, the MITI was steadily promoting the establishment of a computer industry. In the area of intellectual technology, on the other hand, OR (Operations Research) and QC (Quality Control) had been introduced in the 50's and expertized in the business. At the end of the 60's, an explosive interest in Management Information System (MIS) was greatly enhanced, although MIS had not established itself at that time.

In this way, the prerequisites for Japan's shift to an information-oriented society were all spontaneously satisfied by the end of the 60's. This shift, however, would have been rather slow, if all these phenomena were not integrated into one direction. However, as mentioned in section I, Japan succeeded in developing its heavy industry in about 15 years from the mid-50's to the end of the 60's. Paradoxically, due to its success, it faced a stalemate. In order to break through this stalemate, an information-oriented society was mapped out. By the end of the 60's, private and public sectors cooperated in launching a clear communication policy.

The Information Industry Subcommittee of the Industrial Structure

Council was already paying attention to the societal impact brought on by an informatization as early as 1966. It examined and considered the issues presented by an informatization and submitted the "Report of Information Processing and Information Industry Policy" to the Minister of International Trade and Industry. This was the first case of a governmental organization to officially tackle the issues of an informatization, and to announce the direction of its policy.

According to this report, gaining proper information by further computerization would liberate people from clerical work and bring their intellectual creativity to bloom. Further development of an informatization would bring about advanced management of established industries, prosperity to the information industry, a new industry, and thereby advance the industrial structure. Moreover, in the area of politics and administration, bright factors were observed such as in the expansion of the information processing capacity and planning ability. At the same time, however, some problems cropped up, such as the infringement of privacy. On the whole, however, this report gave an optimistic prognostication that the advancement of computerization would further promote industrial society in Japan.

This report also referred to what government must do in order to realize an information-oriented society. It listed concrete measures that should be taken by the government, such as the advancement of education and training on information processing, development of information processing technology, standardization of various information processing devices, and expansion and advancement of information processing in

government offices. These measures were to constitute the basis for the communication policies taken by the MITI in later years.

In response to this report, "New Economic & Social Development Program", Japan's economic program was decided in 1970 and referred to the issues presented by the information policies. This program emphasized the formation of an information-oriented society as an important policy.

With the advent of the 1970's, a communication policy was launched. There was, however, a great gap in the degree of advancement of informatization between Japan and the U.S.A. which at that time was the model for Japan's information policy. Therefore, the constitutions of businesses related to communication policy were strengthened and urgent steps taken to prepare for their societal foundations. The MITI, having already required the combination and revision of several laws related to the promotion of the information industry, stipulated new laws. At the same time, in order to strengthen the constitutions of related business, favorable measures were taken, and the promotion of the information industry, mainly the computer industry, was pursued. Also, a system to train computer experts was newly established in order to develop the human resources of the industry.

Parallel to the execution of the promotional measures mentioned above, the Public Telecommunication Law was revised in 1971, and data communication was made possible (though confined to offices which have identical headquarters). A public communication network was opened in 1972, though with some restrictive conditions. As a result, information processing services, including

on-line-real-time processing, time sharing services (TSS) and information offering services, were made possible. In this way, the development of computer and telecommunication industries was pursued with their mutual relationships in mind.

In this way, communication policies in Japan began to be strongly promoted in the beginning of the 70's, a promotion which emphasized managerial aspects. This development can be observed as a further refinement of the heavy industrialization in the 60's. This direction, however, was slated for revision.

In the 70's, various societal problems which were brought on by the high level of economic growth came to the fore. It was referred to as "distortion of growth". The range of societal problems had widened. Some of these problems included environmental pollution caused by industrial waste, industrial location difficulties, the simultaneous existence of depopulation and overpopulation, traffic congestion in urban areas, international trade conflicts, etc. Furthermore, the first oil crisis in 1973 intensified the phenomena mentioned above.

Thus, a change was prompted in national priorities and goals. Priorities were adjusted from industry to people and their environment, from the pursuit of efficiency to the comfort and social welfare of the citizenry. In accordance with this alteration of priorities, the development of an informatization had to alter its emphasis from the managerial to the societal. This revision of direction was required in order to meet not industrial but public needs.

The interim report made by the Industrial Structure Council in 1971 pointed out that businesses now aim at bestowing the fruits of economic growth to the public rather than simply for the

pursuance of their own profits. It proposed that the industrial structure, which emphasized heavy and chemical industries, should become a knowledge-oriented one.

Referring back to 1969, "The Shin Zen So," The 2nd Comprehensive National Development Plan, was announced, proposing the establishment of a nationwide network to systematize both centralized administrative and business headquarters and physical distribution channels in order to cope with the problem of de- and over-population. It also proposed that people could enjoy safe and comfortable living environments by creating large-scale living areas and establishing transportation and communication facilities there. This program aimed at creating an information network through physical distribution systems mainly through transportation and communication and thereby enlarging the range of social life and rectifying the imbalance in the utilization of land. In fact, however, this program caused further overpopulation in big cities. Despite this situation, we have to pay attention to the fact that there was already a concept that societal problems should be solved by promoting an informatization as early as this period.

In addition to this, this concept was made possible by the advancement of technology and the information industry, including computer and telecommunication technology. In fact NTT (Nippon Telephone & Telegraph Public Corporation) declared its "7-year Expansion Program" policy in 1971, in which it clarified its idea for an integrated telecommunication network. In coping with progress and the diversification of telecommunication services, rapid expansion and advancement of the network was needed. The idea of improving the

network mentioned above was one of the solutions.

III

At the turning point between the 1970's and the 1980's, what prevailed in Japanese journalism was the following image for each decade: Growing 60's, Opaque 70's and Turbulent 80's. That means that in Japan, societal upheaval will continue and, simultaneously, uncertainty will be a significant factor. Direction will become obscure. Such "sentiment" constituted the basis for discussion on perspectives for each decade.

Because of such sentiments, predictions and studies of future revived again at the end of the 70's. In "think tanks," a large number of studies concerning extrapolative predictions on how Japanese society would be in the year 2000, as well as normative future predictions on how Japanese society should be, were conducted.

What was held in common in these predictive studies was the idea of heightening the level of people's materialistic and psychological satisfaction by increasing the span of the information network. This idea was based on Japan's traumatic experience as follows. Although high levels of economic growth were attained in the 60's by using abundant and cheap oil, this growth came to an end due to the oil crisis in 1973. As a result, Japan was abruptly thrown into a tailspin in terms of economic growth. At about the same time, Daniel Bell coined the word "compunication", and "telematique" was used in future programs in France. These concepts also stimulated additional interest among Japanese futurists.

These changes took place not only in

the world of theory but also in actual society. The information network developed rapidly during the 70's. Without reference to the growth of mass media, the saturation percentage of telephones in homes reached nearly 100%, and the automatization of telephone exchanges was completely realized. Direct distance dialing was also made available. The public's needs for access to information was almost satisfied at this level, and Japan entered an era of "saturation".

An information-oriented society was developed into a stage of saturation controlled by the state of the arts and economic potentials. This meant that the level of the information-oriented society was dominated by technology and economics. This type of information-oriented society is called, "The first generation information-oriented society." Its promoters had only to take a management strategy to pursue maximum rationality and efficiency in science and technology, and thereby maintain the price of information at a lower level. The first generation information-oriented society inclined heavily toward industrialization so that functional abilities were strongly emphasized.

However, Japan entered a stage of saturation and came to experience the second generation information-oriented society when not only technical and economic factors but also ambiguous, non-metric, unmeasurable factors, such as the public's value judgment and psychological satisfaction, came into play and came to be perceived as important. Furthermore, the public's perception had to be seriously considered.

When an industrial society reaches a

level of maturity, the main interest of people shifts from production and abstinence to consumption and enjoyment. Rationality and efficiency are no longer valued. In their place, freedom of choice and psychological satisfaction come to assume a new importance.

On the other hand, in the latter half of the 1970's, some technical advancements were made in the areas of computer and telecommunication technologies. These include Super LSI, optical fibers and a communication satellite. They contributed to a comparative lowering of the price of information. A proper combination of these hi-technologies will transform what was once a dream into reality and will be supplied to the public at inexpensive prices. These new technologies will lead to the creation of new products and markets. In the period during the first half of the 1980's, Japan has arrived at this stage of an information-oriented society.

This state of society in Japan, however, also prompts some problems. Although rapid advancement in technology is a good thing, the public's view of its information needs has not kept pace with the potentials of the sophisticated hi-technologies. In short, there exists more supply than demand. The public is saturated psychologically. On the other hand, with respect to products related to information, such as LSI, trade conflicts have occurred.

How to formulate informatization policies to come to grips with technological and sociological realities which exacerbate existing problems and create new difficulties will be Japan's task in the latter half of the 1980's.

Television and Education

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RATIONALE FOR EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

The role of education is determined in its social context, so is the role of broadcast media in education. In a culturally pluralistic society like Canada and Malaysia, educational broadcasting may find its foremost role in achieving cultural homogeneity while preserving ethnic identity. In the United States where commercialism dominates the broadcasting system, public broadcasting is designed to cater to cultural minority with "alternative" programs. The British system incorporates the idea of narrowing the cultural gap between the social strata. As such, the purposes and principles to which the educational media are put vary from one country to another. And naturally, in establishing the goals and objectives of educational broadcasting, each society should carefully weigh the

needs of the society that can best be fulfilled by it.

In Korea, educational broadcasting places its overriding emphasis on instruction aimed at narrowing the educational disparity between the urban and rural dwellers. In the modern society, the rationale goes, the educational process is too complex to be handled by schools alone. That is, education through the formal institutionalized system is far from meeting the increasing demands for social change. With the shortage of educators and facilities, the much-talked about life-long education and adult education are still a distant reality. These are the key factors prompting the need for the non-formal system of education, which remains untapped for its potential contribution to education.

What good does education via mass media serve? Is it really necessary?

To offer a rationale for educational

broadcasting, education via mass media has the clear advantage over the face-to-face mode of education. It can reach larger numbers of clientele with less investment in facilities and personnel. It can also provide education at any point in one's life. Of the broadcasting media, TV plays the most vital role of reducing the gap between urban and rural sectors for educational and cultural opportunities. It enjoys a nationwide network, capable of reaching every corner of the country. Furthermore, it cuts across all social strata of the population created by education, intelligence and socio-economic status. It defies age gaps with its programs open equally to aged people and pre-school children.

As such, the use of TV for educational purposes is justified not only by cost-effective considerations but from the viewpoint of social demands.

The educational function of the broadcasting media has been the central theme of debate for many years. Critics of televised education have maintained that this medium by nature is better fit to entertain the audience and this role should be what broadcasting is all about.

The mass media perform three major educational tasks: (1) socialization, which usually occurs in the home, is the process of reinforcing or modifying cultural norms; (2) informal education, which usually occurs outside the school, supplements the educational outlook of the individual; (3) formal instruction, which usually occurs in the school, is the process of systematically imparting specialized information and skills in a controlled, supervised environment. These three tasks affect the individual culturally as well as educationally.

Despite imperfections and pitfalls of broadcasting as a means of education,

many countries, including Korea, are investing a sizeable amount of money in the educational broadcasting largely because of its cost effectiveness.

TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Broadcast programs are basically of two types: enrichment program and direct teaching program.

The enriching materials increase the effect of learning, when they are incorporated into the regular curriculum as is the case with the advanced countries. Many educators in Korea gravitate toward the notion of such a program.

The idea of direct teaching is that the TV program substitutes for the teacher throughout the entire process of instruction. But it does not necessarily mean that a teacher or an assistant is virtually excluded.

Directive messages which constitute the bulk of direct teaching materials are those that command, exhort, instruct, persuade, and urge in the direction of learning and new understanding. They must, says Gerhard Wiebe, come from authoritative figures and call for substantial and conscious intellectual effort by the learner. Those kinds of messages that intend to direct performance or change behavior, most studies show, do not succeed unless they tie in to a structured, face-to-face, teacher-pupil relationship. Unless the mass media do provide this sort of intimate relationship, they cannot impart knowledge to pupils. It is for this reason that in Korea as much emphasis is placed upon teacher education as upon the development of educational broadcasting program.

CURRENT STATUS

In Korea, four broadcasting stations are involved in educational programs — namely, KBS, MBC, KEDI and CBS. But the educational programs broadcast by the three stations — except for KEDI — are largely of a fragmentary type and lack any consistency of content. The opening of the air and correspondence course at the high school and tertiary level (two-year post high school) was the first even to blaze the trail to a systematic educational broadcasting system.

Cooling the over-heated enthusiasm for private tutoring was viewed as the enabling objective of broadcast program. Beginning with 1981, school education programs were aired over UHF channel, with FM channel open to radio broadcasting.

Areas covered in the 1981's programs included the following: (1) Civic education, (2) Cultural heritage, (3) Life education, (4) Arts, (5) Youth guidance, (6) Foreign languages, (7) Scientific life, (8) Leisure program, (9) Special education for physically disadvantaged children, (10) High school education.

A glance at these areas indicates that the educational broadcasting covers a wide range of programs aimed at a variety of audiences. There are six hours and 20 minutes of broadcasting per day, with each program coming up in a different time. The Korean teachers who have tried out ITV programs in connection with the instructional system voiced a general sentiment of satisfaction. They reported, among other things, that the interest of children in learning a task was heightened, and that they became more attentive. ITV lessons were particularly meaningful in areas where teachers were less competent, especially in music and

fine arts.

PROBLEMS IN UTILIZATION

Despite the many promises and fanfares, education through the media draws no comparison with the entertainment fare available from commercial television. Several factors may account for the relatively low proportion of the audience attracted to educational television.

Firstly, there still is a lack of consensus regarding the potential of and the need for educational broadcasting in Korea. Educational programs are for the most part instructional in nature, with a heavy emphasis on problem-solving items intended for students preparing for entrance examinations.

Secondly, schools are inadequately equipped with facilities to fully utilize educational broadcasting. A sizeable audience is thus alienated from educational TV which otherwise may attract a greater number of people. Another impediment to a wide use of television is teachers' resistance to change. Willingness of teachers to use it is the key factor for an optimal contribution. And such a willingness comes from two sources — proficiency in its use, backed up by solid theoretical foundations and adequate facilities. At present, neither of these prerequisites is fully met in Korea.

Closely related to the lack of facilities is the persistent problem of scheduling difficulties, an important reason for insufficient use of television in education.

There still is a paucity of information available on the impact of school television. We are told, however, that impact means different things to different people. To some impact means effects on children, to others it means effects on teachers, to

still others it means effects on the system as a whole. These effects comprise an exceedingly broad view of what television's impact might be.

One predictable effect of educational media is the creation of new roles for individuals who will soon be faced with an increasing variety of educational opportunities through mass media.

Topping the long list of mass media's impact is the reduction of provincialism. Regional dialects are dying out; people are becoming more cosmopolitan and are less concerned only with the problems of their immediate environment. Educational media are expected to speed up this process.

FUTURE

The educational broadcasting in Korea is still in its infancy. In order for the educational broadcasting to develop into a full-fledged means of instruction, there are a number of tasks to be accomplished. These tasks actually constitute benchmarks that guide the development of educational broadcasting.

First, the use of the broadcasting media should not be limited to classroom instruction but be extended to various realms of concern — namely, pre-school education, adult education, teacher training, counselling and summer school programs, etc. Air and Correspondence education at the high school and college levels, among others, deserves priority in attention for its potential contribution to education for the society at large.

Second, the creation of educational programs is a joint effort involving subject

matter specialists, media specialists, teachers, administrators and psychologists.

For the greater efficiency in production and distribution, a cooperative body should be established among the concerned parties.

Third, teachers should receive adequate training before educational broadcasting is implemented. Parents too should also be invited to information services for their understanding and support.

Fourth, educational broadcasting should address itself to helping individuals maximize their potential contribution to the goals of the entire society and the realization of individual aspirations and to shape up desirable characters. Educational broadcasting should also find a role in developing the sense of social commitment, thus fostering the unity of the people.

Fifth, educational broadcasting should be nondiscriminatory with regard to the target audience it is intended for. Yet, financial constraints often dictate the prioritization of target audience groups. The common practice is to begin with the culturally and socially disadvantaged groups, including employed youths and rural women.

And finally, a close cooperative network should be built to link all social and non-formal educational organizations in a collaborative attempt to enhance the efficiency of management. If educational broadcasting is to be effectively managed, it should be open to the opinions of its clientele. Narrowing the gulf between the senders and receivers constitutes an issue of paramount concern in broadcasting programs.

Cultural Exchange and Implications for Education in Nauru

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Geographically, technologically, and to an increasing degree, economically, the world is becoming a single system with an increased degree of interdependence amongst nations. People participate more clearly as members of a world system and we are rapidly developing into a global society or world community. The communication revolution we have witnessed and continue to witness has the effect of bringing the wider world closer to us through radio, newspapers, and television. In addition, an increasing number of people travel to other nations, live with people in their own societies, and experience at first hand what may have previously been available only through reading.

The move towards the acceptance that we are all part of a world community has influenced educators to consider the implications for teaching strategies and curriculum contents at all levels of education. A significant educational

objective should therefore be to ensure that students become conscious of the "oneness" of mankind, while accepting, respecting, and utilising cultural and racial diversity.

In times of increases in economic productivity, increases in population and associated pollution, an apparent growth of literacy and the constant threat of global disaster, nations strive to retain both their identity and what they consider to be the most valuable aspects of their particular culture. The current generation is generally conscious of this but even greater understanding between peoples is necessary before free and natural human interaction across ethnic and national boundaries will exist.

The concept of global education is a serious attempt to develop skills and insight in information selection and information gathering for students so necessary in order to acquire a balanced perspective of the world of which they are

a part. Mass media assure us of access to an enormous volume of both audio and visual information and it seems important that students are able to decide how to respond to such information. Much of what is presented via the media is alarming and presents a picture of almost total despair to the young as they are constantly exposed to war, violence, famine, poverty, and natural and man-made disasters.

The task of educators is to assist students to become selective and to gain a realistic appreciation of the world environment in which they live. If we were to study a map of the world which displayed routes of air passenger travel, telegraphic links, channels of trade, television links, international movement of teachers and students and tourists, a picture of the world as a total society would clearly emerge.

Add to this the recent ventures into space and it should become clear to us all that the world is really a very small part of the universe and should not be considered as having clearly defined boundaries of continents, islands, states and nations, with no significant exchange of a cultural, social and economic nature.

Nauru is a small, isolated, raised coral atoll. The physical environment is one of relatively poor soil, no surface water, constant heat and humidity and unreliable rainfall – a precarious environment indeed for a human society. It is likely that the first settlement of Nauru was accidental, rather than a progressive movement from island to island, as appears to have been the case, southwards, through Kiribati and Tuvalu. It could, therefore, be expected that until quite recently, the people of Nauru did not necessarily perceive themselves as part of the global society. There was no significant interdependence necessary for daily survival, and contact

with other nations was extremely limited. In fact, cultural exchange is a very recent feature of Nauruan life.

Nauruan society was, and still is, based on the matrilineal system. Offspring are always members of their mother's tribes and inheritances in land, houses and other material wealth are passed on through the mother. There are twelve tribes, and traditionally each had its own special tribal songs, chants, mat patterns and other ornamental decorations such as headbands, necklaces and belts. Marriage was forbidden within each tribe, but this tradition has been relaxed in more recent times. The social hierarchy was previously divided into three classes. Of most prominence were the chiefs or decision-makers who were called TEMONIBE. Next were the wealthy landowners or well-off members of the tribe called EMENANGAME and the third class was made up of the people who had few material possessions and were called ENGAME. However, this aspect of Nauruan society has ceased to exist. Land was previously the recognised form of wealth and this included habitable land along the coast, uninhabitable land such as the topside area and also the sea, as far as the reef. The Island is still divided into fourteen districts and there is a special division between the northern and southern districts. Games and competitions were often conducted between the different district areas with less formal competitions held between the north and south. Inter-district competitions in various sports and games continue to be held on special occasions.

Living on a small island and in the middle of the temperamental Pacific Ocean, the Nauruans had to develop an intimate understanding of the sea as well as its numerous and varied inhabitants.

The sea was central and foremost in their lives. This is recorded and illustrated in their customs, traditions, legends and normal everyday life. According to the Nauruans, the sea gave life, sustained life and eventually took life. The sea was thought to give life because before the birth of a child, the mother had to bathe in the sea twice a day. The action of the waves helped to massage the baby within and was thought to ensure little complication at birth. At birth, if a baby appeared weak, it would be revived by sprinkling sea water on its eyelids and in its mouth. The sea sustained life because it provided food for life and the Nauruans became a race of fishermen rather than horticulturalists. The sea took life in a literal and symbolic sense. In former times, people were buried at sea, especially the Chiefs. On the occasion of deaths there was no mourning because the dead person was believed to turn into a spirit (EANI) and after three days would journey to the land of the dead. The land of the dead was somewhere beyond the horizon and to get there, the spirit had to wriggle under a pinnacle at the edge of the reef. After a number of years, the spirit progressed from EANI to become a divinity.

Fishing was a learned occupation and men as well as women fished although women were not allowed beyond the reef. The abundance of life in the sea and the numerous species of fish encouraged the development of specialist skills. For every fish, whether a deep sea fish or a reef fish, there was a special technique required to catch it. Fishing was a way of life. It provided food, it was sometimes sport, it was a skilled art, but above all it meant survival.

Food preparation was the duty of women. In addition, women attended to

tasks such as making clothes, weaving shelters such as thatched roofs, weaving mats and making ornaments and handicrafts.

Nauru had a code of manners called EAREN. It was required of everyone to be polite and gentle with unhurried gestures. Harshness was rejected, therefore little physical fighting occurred. Teasing and joking were often used as the weapons of opposition. (At war, however, the situation was quite the reverse and the Nauruans were often referred to as a brutal people). To earn the reputation of "good manners" people had to learn to give away what they valued most. In former times there was a circulation of wealth through this custom of giving one's best. Material equality was easily maintained. Through reciprocal giving and receiving, everyone had the opportunity to possess items of value and necessity and generosity remains a marked feature of the Nauruan way of life.

There was no set schedule for meals in Nauru. Food was always available not only for family members but also for guests, whether expected or unexpected. It was considered rude not to invite persons who walked past your house in for a meal, as much as it was bad manners to refuse the invitation. Food was important for the time and effort required to acquire it, the pleasure it gave and the life it sustained. Nauruans had a different name for every type of food, each stage and nature of its preparation, and different names for each type of feast. A large feast called IKIRIRI was held annually, given on each occasion by a different district. At this feast poor people were allowed to disguise themselves in vines and leaves and ask for food. They would then be served first, before the chiefs, in accordance with good

Nauruan manners.

Competitions, sports and games were an integral part of traditional Nauru. Annual contests like frigate bird competitions (IBBON ITSI) required week long preparations, skill and perseverance and of course, a few days of feasting at the culmination of the competitions! The feast was provided by the losing side. This exclusively male game usually lasted a week and nearly all the menfolk of a competing area had a part to play while the women were banned from participating or spectating.

Another game of much preparation and participation, called ITSIBWEB, was usually played between the Northern and Southern districts. The game involved hitting a wooden ball covered by thick woven pandanus leaves with the open hand. The prestige of this game has not diminished although it has not been played as frequently in recent years. Wrestling was also an important community game and people would gather from early morning to evening to watch the EKABARÈRE. It was an individual male competition between a challenger and whoever wished to take him up with as many as ten pairs wrestling at one time. This particular sport has retained its popularity with the Nauruan people and it is held as part of special occasion celebrations. There appear to have been about twenty of these traditional games played in Nauru prior to significant contact with the wider world and a small number are still favored as means of recreation.

It can be seen that pre-contact Nauruan culture was rich and there was a high degree of social organization which enabled the people of the small island to survive, to exist in harmony with their environment and to lead fulfilling lives.

However, with the arrival of the white man, the discovery of phosphate on the Island, the subsequent establishment of the industry and then later, the physical and emotional repercussions of direct involvement in World War II, radical changes began to occur.

Chinese were recruited to work the phosphate fields and these people were later joined by Kiribati and Tuvaluan workers. A significant number of Europeans, who could provide technical assistance for the industry, also came to the island and a multi-cultural society became clearly established. There was by necessity, daily cultural exchange. An apparent mutual understanding, acceptance and respect for the cultural differences seemed to exist and the multi-cultural society developed along relatively harmonious lines. During the last five to ten years, people of other races — Filipino, Indian, Taiwanese, Fijian and Solomon Islanders — have been recruited to join the employ of either the Phosphate Corporation or Government Departments. This has introduced further cultures, with different work ethics, languages, food, dress and other customs and added to the complexity of the existing society.

Cultural exchange, with the resultant societal changes, is not a planned process and occurs as a result of other influences including travel, trade, communication and education. As in most instances where change occurs, the change in Nauru had probably taken place and the new pattern of co-existence had become well established, before it was generally recognised or even realised.

As the individual and collective wealth of the Nauruan people increased, a "Western" influence became increasingly noticeable, in dress, material possessions, food and entertainment. Many of the

traditional Nauruan customs began to fade and Nauruan society began to feel the strong influence of money. This could be contrasted with the early Nauruan society in which a system of bartering or commerce apparently did not exist and simple sharing and gift exchange was the accepted practice.

A further influence on Nauruan customs and traditions has been the extent to which Nauruan students have studied at overseas schools and tertiary institutions. According to records, prior to World War II, fewer than ten Nauruans had studied overseas for any length of time but in the ten year period 1948-1958, fifty two young people left Nauru to study overseas, mainly in Australia. Taken from the quite small population, this had the effect of strongly exposing a considerable number of young, impressionable Nauruans to a different society and culture. In the subsequent 10 year period, 1959-69, the number of Nauruans studying overseas either at secondary school level or at tertiary or vocational levels, reached a figure of 98 and in the period 1969-79, this figure again doubled, with 197 Nauruans being awarded Government scholarships or cadetships. When students whose overseas study was privately sponsored are added to these numbers, the total number of Nauruans who have lived and studied in another society, sometimes for periods of up to 8 years, is indeed significant. The effect of such experience on the retention of traditional Nauruan culture and customs is, of course, considerable. Many of the students spent their formative years living in societies with attitudes, values and customs quite different from those of Nauru and were exposed to the strong influence of the mass media for the first time. On their annual return to Nauru,

these students brought with them elements of the environment in which they had been living and many were absorbed into the Nauruan society. This was especially apparent in aspects of dress, food, entertainment, sport and other leisure activities.

The newspaper has been universally accepted as an efficient means of communicating news and other information to both local and isolated people. Numerous attempts have been made to establish a local newspaper in Nauru and the history of communication in Nauru is dotted with examples. The *Bulletin*, a weekly Government fact-reporting medium printed in English, has been in existence since before Independence but does not provide for any commercial or private content and has a limited circulation. Only items of local news and overseas news gathered from Nauru's communication link with the A.A.P. Service are published. Periodic attempts have been made by various groups to establish alternative news publications with varying degrees of success. In the most recent venture, *The Nauru Post* commenced publication in 1979 and produced eighty weekly editions before closing.

It provided a service of local and overseas news together with political and social comment using English as the medium. One district newspaper, printed in both English and Nauruan, is currently being published after a lapse of some years, but unlike most other countries the newspaper has not generally been utilised as a medium of communication in Nauru.

Recommendations for the establishment of a radio broadcasting service for Nauru, as a further means of communication were first made in December 1966 but it was not until mid 1968 that Radio Nauru commenced transmission. During

negotiations, the possibility of establishing a television link was also discussed but the cost of such a service for a small population was considered to be prohibitive. In 1968, Radio Nauru was broadcasting for eighty hours each week. About half of the broadcast time comprised Radio Australia relays, particularly news services and, together with world news services in the Nauruan language, had the effect of bringing the world closer to the Nauruan people. Thirty minute programs in Chinese, Kiribati, and Tuvaluan were presented weekly and as people of other nationalities came to Nauru, this service has been extended to include programs for people from Fiji, India, the Solomon Islands and the Philippines. These programs continue to provide some exchange of ideas and music and are an indication that the multi-cultural composition of the island's population is recognized and accepted. Radio Nauru's current weekly transmission of ninety — five hours, with several daily news services from Radio Australia, continues to influence the daily lives of the people and provides an immediate link with the wider world.

A little more than ten years ago Air Nauru was established with the expressed intentions of ending Nauru's isolation, opening up the Central Pacific Region and creating an industry in which future generations of Nauruans can be employed. Increased frequency of flights and the opening of new routes has seen Air Nauru play an increasingly significant role in improving communication in the Pacific Region. From five ports of call in 1975, Air Nauru has increased its service to the extent that it currently has almost twenty ports of call, while passenger numbers have increased five-fold in the same

period. Tourists and transit passengers provide a brief but continuing form of cultural exchange and each Nauruan who travels from Nauru to another part of the Pacific or beyond, is doing likewise. The people of Nauru, together with their traditions, customs and attitudes have, through the airline, become further exposed to the peoples of the wider world.

It would appear that the cultural exposure, arising from the island's industry and trade, various forms of communication, overseas study and travel, has brought a realization to Nauru, as it has to many previously isolated countries, that the preservation of culture is important in order to retain a special identity in this shrinking world. Nauruan culture appears to have suffered at the expense of introduced customs and attitudes, particularly those of the "Western world." Consequently, people who have accepted responsibility for the revision of school courses or the compilation of curricula in Nauru, have been confronted with a serious dilemma. On the one hand, there appears to have been a desire on the part of the community to follow a conventional academic curriculum, yet there has always been a suspicion that elements of the Nauruan culture, particularly spoken and written language, music and handicrafts, should be included.

Attempts have been made to obtain a balance between the two but the increasing exposure of students to other cultures, attitudes and values through home videos, cinema and, to a lesser extent, overseas newspapers has made this difficult to achieve. To add to this dilemma, the task of preparing Nauruan children to take their place in the Nauru of the future in the context of rapid change and economic uncertainty is a complex task. The

answer seems to lie in placing appropriate emphases within the curriculum and not in creating a new curriculum. Because it was apparent that little emphasis had been placed on cultural aspects of the Nauruan society, in 1981 a decision was taken to survey a cross-section of the Nauruan community in order to gain information which would indicate where, in the opinion of the Nauruan community, emphases should lie within the curriculum.

At meetings of local and expatriate teachers, twenty instructional goals considered to be appropriate to education in Nauru were identified. Most of the goals formed part of the existing school curriculum but some additional goals were included and care was taken to express the goals in terms which would be clearly understood by the members of the Nauruan community who were to be surveyed. The purpose of the survey was to establish priorities within the curriculum in the context that while each instructional goal was important, greater emphasis in time, effort and resources should be placed on some and less emphasis on others. The Nauruan people to be surveyed were asked to rate each goal in terms of how important they felt it was for the schools in Nauru to help students achieve the particular goal. The goals were to be rated according to the following scale:

1. Not important
2. Of some importance
3. Important
4. Very important
5. Extremely important

People were asked to try to distribute the five values as evenly as possible throughout the goals and it was emphasized that there were no "right" or

"wrong" answers. The meeting of teachers then decided on the groups of people who would be requested to take part in the survey. The groups included public servants, ministers, parliamentarians, church groups, business people, senior students, young employed and unemployed Nauruans, mothers, fathers, elders, teachers, laborers, tradesmen, secretaries — a complete cross section of the Nauruan community.

The survey forms were distributed to the participants by Nauruan teachers who had previously been well briefed and fully understood the procedure. In some instances the forms were simply explained and the participants were left to complete them at their leisure but in other instances, the distributors went through the survey paper item by item. The twenty "Goals for Education in Nauru," together with the order of priority as indicated by the survey, are as follows:

1) *English Language* (4.75) — to speak, read, understand, write and spell in the English language.

2) *Mathematics* (4.56) — to understand basic mathematical ideas — to use the four operations with whole numbers, decimals, and fractions — to understand ideas of length, weight, time, etc.

3) *Vocational Training* (4.13) — to be trained so that students will be able to obtain a job, appropriate to their ability and interests.

4) *Health* (3.85) — to know about and understand health, personal hygiene, physical fitness, mental health and drugs, the structure and functions of the body, diseases, food and nutrition.

5) *Nauruan Language* (3.75) — to speak, read and write the Nauruan language.

6) *Religion* (3.71) — to possess a knowledge of Christianity and practice of

Christian beliefs and way of living.

7) *History and Civics* (3.48) — to possess knowledge of the history of Nauru and its people — to understand the rights and responsibilities of today's citizens — to gain knowledge of history of other countries — to understand simple economics.

8) *Home Economics and Manual Arts* (3.47) — to be trained in basic wood-work, automotive and electrical skills — to develop skills in cooking, needlework, and general home economics.

9) *Science* (3.45) — to gain a basic knowledge and understanding of plants, animals, air, water, the earth and space.

10) *The Future* (3.44) — to develop the qualities which will enable students, when they become adults, to take their place in other societies in the future, if necessary. e.g. Australia, New Zealand, Fiji.

11) *Nauruan Culture* (3.41) — to possess a sound understanding of Nauruan culture and ways of preserving it.

12) *Personal Development* (3.28) — to develop pride in oneself, a sense of independence, concern for others, the ability to get along with others and a sense of responsibility towards self and others.

13) *Safety* (3.27) — to understand and obey basic rules of safety related to home, road and sea.

14) *Geography* (3.03) — to develop an understanding of distances, direction and other geographical aspects of our world — to develop a sense of concern and responsibility for our environment.

15) *Family Life — Education* (2.90) — to understand the growth of life, parts and functions of the reproductive system, pre-natal development and birth.

16) *Physical Education* (2.82) — to develop a healthy, well coordinated body

— to learn the skills necessary to play various sports.

17) *Arts & Crafts* (2.58) — to enjoy making things from different materials.

18) *Other People, Their Culture and Religion* (2.48) — to know about and understand the life style, culture, and religion of other people, particularly in the Pacific Region.

19) *Leisure and Recreational Activities* (2.32) — to be trained in the purposeful use of leisure time — to be exposed to a wide range of recreational activities.

20) *Music* (2.30) — to enjoy the beauty and creativity of island music and music from other sources.

The results of the survey must be interpreted carefully and sensitively with a degree of knowledge and understanding of Nauruan society, the current education system and the expectations of the Nauruan people.

The development of skills in English language and Mathematics is seen as a top priority, and to enable Nauruans to accept positions of responsibility essential to the development of the nation, this is understandable.

Vocational training also has a high priority since it is socially and economically desirable for young Nauruans to be employed and to be seen to be assisting the development of their country. Increasing awareness of the incidence of disease, particularly diabetes and hypertension, has prompted people to place a high priority on all aspects of health education. The teaching of the Nauruan language is not currently included in the curriculum but the survey indicates a strong desire to include such teaching, as a means of preserving the written language. (Nauruan is predominantly a spoken language and only a relatively small number of Nauruans are able to write the

language). It was anticipated that Religion would rank as a high priority as the Nauruans are essentially a religious race. A group of five goals are closely clustered between 3.48 and 3.44 indicating a high priority, and include Nauruan Culture, and "The Future", while Art, Craft and Music rank low in importance. This should not be taken to mean that parents do not wish Art, Craft and Music to be included in the curriculum, but it does indicate that they consider less school time should be allocated to these areas, possibly because it is thought that they are adequately pursued at home. Music, particularly singing, remains a strong element of the Nauruan tradition and while it would appear that some of the traditional forms of handicraft are disappearing, some are still quite widely practised.

The quite high priority given to the Nauruan Culture has strong implications for curriculum developers and indicates a desire on the part of the Nauruan people for their children to understand their culture and develop ways of preserving it.

Above all, the survey indicated that while the Nauruan people were anxious that they become part of the world community through developing the necessary academic and vocational skills, there is also a desire to retain their special identity with its associated traditions and culture and that they perceive the education system as one means through which this can be achieved.

This paper has attempted to describe something of Nauru's past and its present. Indications are that although there is an understandable degree of uncertainty of what the post-phosphate period may hold, the future will be exciting as change will continue on and all around Nauru. The desire of many countries to preserve the most worthwhile features of their traditional cultures is being repeated in this small island nation. It is a part of the world community but it is also unique. The people have expressed a strong desire to have the uniqueness of their culture recognized and reinforced and education has a significant role to play in this process.

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The Promotion of Cultural Exchange through Mass Communication

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INTRODUCTION

"Every people has the right and duty to develop its own culture."¹

The inalienable right of people to enrich their own culture was upheld by the General Conference of UNESCO on November 4, 1966 when it approved the Declaration of the Principles of International Cooperation. At the same time, it also recognized the responsibility of government with respect to the cultural development of its people in Articles II:

Nations shall endeavor to develop the various branches of culture so as to establish a harmonious balance between technical progress and the intellectual and moral advancement of mankind.²

If the quality of life of man is to be improved, attention must be given to his spiritual as well as his material needs.

This basic concept views "culture as the accumulated experiences of a group of people through history"³ and cultural development as integral to the total development process.

Such a view also implies that development can mean progress only if the cultural context in which it takes place is respected. That is, all efforts towards the improvement of the quality of life of man must not do violence to his cultural environment.

The Declaration also puts prime emphasis on the uniqueness of each culture. "Each culture has a dignity and value, that must be respected and presented."⁴ Respect for the cultures of others appears to be a pre-condition for international understanding.

What makes the culture of a people unique from that of another grouping? One could point to the value system of the people, the norms, customs, and traditions observed and the vast body of

traditional art forms — literature, music, dance, painting and sculpture generated.

Individual awareness of these elements is today seen as a powerful factor in cultural development. Hence, the continuing efforts to preserve and safeguard cultural identity.

Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, the Director-General of UNESCO, however, is quick to qualify that the affirmation of cultural identity is not simply a vain nostalgia for the past. Rather, "its significance is to make his past a catalysing agent for the future."⁵

Cultural values determine the cultural identity of a people, and may therefore, become the welcome instrument of society's endeavors to rationalize the changes it seeks to make in the interpretation of its past, the organization of its present life and the vision it forges of its future.⁶

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

If culture can enrich the life of a nation-state, there is also a vast untapped human reserve of creativity, imagination and talent within the region that once utilized could expand and enrich our knowledge, our vision and our lives. Cultural cooperation, specifically cultural exchanges between countries, could very well fulfill this role.

The four-fold aims of cultural cooperation as enunciated by UNESCO are:

1. To spread knowledge, to stimulate talent and to enrich cultures and to make their citizens realize that everyone has the right to have access to knowledge, to enjoy the arts and literature of all people, to share in the advance made in science and to contribute to cultural life

2. To promote peaceful relations between nations by reducing ignorance and prejudice

3. To develop a juster world where the glaring inequalities of health, knowledge, and comfort that divide the "haves" from the "have-nots" are reduced, as people learn to share in the advances of science

4. To raise the spiritual life of man in all parts of the world.⁷

People's contacts with cultures other than their own can be an enriching experience. Such interaction in Lewis' view "enables human beings to find pleasure and stimulus from the valuable differences that exist between people, but, at the same time, to realize that human needs and aspirations are fundamentally the same for all."⁸

UNESCO also spells out the conditions under which organizations and countries shall pursue policies of cultural cooperation:

They should:

- respect the distinctive character of such culture.

- encourage broad dissemination of ideas and values conducive to the creation of a climate of friendship and peace.

- endeavor in presenting and disseminating information to ensure its authenticity.

- promote the establishment of long-term relations between people.

- be aware of the need to stimulate talent and promote the training of the rising generations.⁹

OBJECTIVES

This paper seeks to present some models within the ASEAN context of how mass media, specifically film, can promote a keener appreciation of the

cultures of the region and how by themselves they can also be the very medium of cultural exchanges.

The function of mass media in the transmission of the cultural heritage of a nation-state from one generation to another has been recognized by both social scientists and media practitioners. They have looked upon culture as a unifying force that can bind diverse ethnic groupings together. They have treated culture as an instrument in instilling a sense of unity and nationhood, in creating a strong national identity and in preserving traditional values and introducing new values.

Thus, one finds the newspaper publicizing cultural activities regardless of whether these are big city-based or small community-based, the television network carrying live, delayed telecast or replays of cultural presentations in national theaters or in the parks or producing their own cultural shows featuring local artists. Books and special interest magazine devote space to various aspects of culture. Films portray lifestyles and explore prevailing themes and issues.

If the mass media can foster a deeper understanding of one's cultural roots within national boundaries, they, too, have a crucial role to play in cross-cultural exchanges within the region. Here in an enlarged Asian setting, the media assume the task of generating a sense of pride in belonging to a region considered the cradle of ancient civilizations and heir to a rich cultural heritage.

While appreciative of the diversity in cultures, the media can highlight the commonalities shared by Asians. These are the common aspirations, values and lifestyles that Asians hold dear.

This paper will focus on the cultural projects currently being undertaken under

the aegis of the ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information. It will attempt to review and assess the guiding philosophy, objectives, format and mechanism for exchange of two ASEAN cultural projects, namely, — the ASEAN Film Festival and the ASEAN Film Week.

FRAMEWORK

The Declaration of ASEAN Concord concluded during the Bali Summit in February 1976 provides the framework for cultural cooperation in the region. In its preamble, the Concord reaffirms its commitment "to promote peace, progress, prosperity, and the welfare of the peoples of member states" and "to consolidate the achievements of ASEAN and expand ASEAN cooperation in the economic, social, cultural and political fields."¹⁰

Specifically, the Concord also calls on member states to perform the following roles:

- Member states shall strive, individually and collectively, to create conditions conducive to the promotion of peaceful cooperation among the nations of Southeast Asia on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit.
- Member states shall vigorously develop an awareness of regional identity and exert all efforts to create a strong ASEAN community, respected by all, and respecting all nations on the basis of mutually advantageous relationships, and in accordance with the principles of self-determination, sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations.¹¹

Cultural interaction is viewed in the ASEAN context as a process of mutual enrichment. It precludes imposing one's culture on another, absorbing, devouring

or holding back the cultural development of another member state.

ASEAN FILM FESTIVAL

Film as a medium of mass entertainment continues to draw a large audience in this region. Its persuasiveness and its universal appeal make it a most potent vehicle for cultural enrichment. Film can dramatize the ethos and pathos of Asian society. It delves into the psyche of the people, reflecting why Asians think, feel and behave the way they do.

In addition to its entertainment value, film can also perform a cultural uplifting function. When it upholds Asian values like the brotherhood of man, close family ties, respect for elders, etc, film highlights the essence of Asian society.

In her message to the 11th ASEAN Film Festival, the Philippine First Lady, Madame Imelda Romualdez Marcos defines what film can do best: "Through this sensitive medium people of various cultures, creeds and ideologies are able to build bridges of friendship, goodwill and mutual understanding."

With each ASEAN member state having a burgeoning film industry with the exception of Singapore which imports its films it seemed only logical and appropriate that a film festival would be one of its initial projects.

The ASEAN Film Festival is an annual film event held on a rotation basis in the capital of the five member countries. Non-competitive and non-commercial in nature, it features the exhibition of full-length feature films and documentaries produced by member states. Each country normally enters two feature films not exceeding three hours each and two or more documentaries not exceeding

60 minutes each.

The project was first proposed by the Philippines during the First Meeting of the Permanent Committee on Mass Media in October, 1970 in Kuala Lumpur. According to the Philippine Working Paper submitted to rationalize the proposal, the festival aims "to promote the cultural ties that bind the people of the ASEAN countries and to foster the mutuality of interest among them through the medium of the cinema."¹² A subsequent explication of the objectives of the festival is found in the souvenir program of the 11th ASEAN Film Festival hosted by the Philippines: "The Film Festival aims to promote an appreciation for the various cultures, art and film forms of the region."¹³

The Philippines hosted the ASEAN Film Festival 1971, 1976, and 1981; Thailand, 1972 and 1977; Malaysia, 1973 and 1978; Indonesia, 1974 and 1979; and Singapore, 1975 and 1980. Now on its third cycle, the Festival will go the rounds: Thailand in 1982, Malaysia in 1983, Indonesia in 1984 and Singapore in 1985.

The Working Group on Film, a Subcommittee of the ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information, meets separately from the meeting of ASEAN Motion Pictures Producers Association (AMPPA) during the Festival. The former discusses and assesses on-going film projects and proposes supportive activities. The latter is a meeting of representatives from the Philippine Motion Picture Producers Association, Film Producers Malaysia Bersatu, Association of Thai Film Producers and Indonesia Motion Pictures Association. AMPPA seeks to promote the interest of motion picture industries in the ASEAN countries, to elevate the artistic standards of motion pictures, to ensure the dissemination and interchange

of culture in the region, thereby contributing to the development of the spirit of ASEAN solidarity."¹⁴

The ASEAN Film Festival is a much awaited, much-publicized yearly event. It gathers together actors, actresses, producers, directors, and officials of Ministries of Information or Culture from the ASEAN member countries. The stars lend glamor to the festival and are sought after for radio/television/press interviews. They also meet and exchange views with their counterparts in the host country. In addition, visits to film facilities are also arranged for them.

But the real crowd-drawers are the film showings in such varied venues as commercial cinema houses, university auditoriums and convention halls. Preceding the film exhibition is usually a gala opening night graced by the visiting artists. In Manila, a parade of stars in horse-drawn carriages ushers in the five-day Festival.

Even while the Working Group on Film and ASEAN Motion Picture Producers Association (AMPPA) are meeting, moviegoers shuttle from one showing venue to another to get their feel and fill of ASEAN films. They emerge from the theaters with a keener appreciation of the values, patterns of behavior, traditions and lifestyles of the people of other ASEAN member countries. They delight in finding similarities as well as differences in the cultures depicted in the films with their own.

More exposed to a surfeit of Western films, the ASEAN audience find films made in member countries a welcome change almost verging on exotica. With the exception of martial art films produced in Hongkong and occasional films with Asian setting produced by American and European companies, the

ASEAN moviegoer rarely views films produced in the region by Asian filmmakers.

ASEAN FILM WEEK

The need for more frequent showings of ASEAN-produced films within the region than could be provided by the ASEAN Film Festival hosted once every five years by each member state paved the way for the emergence of still another mechanism for film exchange — the Asian Film Week.

The ASEAN Film Week is a Philippine proposal contained in a Philippine Working Paper submitted to the 7th Meeting of the ASEAN Sub-Committee on Film held on November 25-29 in Kuala Lumpur. However, it was launched only on August 10-15, 1981 when the Philippines hosted the First ASEAN Film Week.

Unlike the ASEAN Film Festival which is hosted once in five years on a rotation basis by member countries, the ASEAN Film Week is conceived as a yearly film event for every member state. Each country is supposed to set aside a week during the year for showing films produced by ASEAN filmmakers and to send as entry a feature film subtitled in English.

The film entries were shown in Manila for free at different venues with three target groups in mind: at the University of the Philippines Institute of Mass Communication Auditorium and the University of the East Theater for students at the Broadway Centrum, a commercial theater in a shopping mall for the general public, and at the San Miguel Auditorium in Makati for professionals.

To elicit audience reaction to the film shown and to the concept of a regular film exchange program among

ASEAN countries, the moviegoers were asked to respond to a survey questionnaire devised by the Office of Planning and Development of the National Media Production Center. The survey sought to gauge the sentiments of the Filipino audiences as regards ASEAN films.

On the question, "Would you like to see more ASEAN Films?" of the 360 respondents, 86.6% answered positively while only 1.7% (6) gave negative answers. 12.7% (46) did not answer.

The survey also indicated that the types of films preferred in the order of priority are historical, drama and comedy.¹⁵

RECOMMENDATIONS

The survey conducted during the First ASEAN Film Festival, seems to indicate that there is an audience within the region for films produced by member states. Not only have the respondents to the survey shown a high level of interest in ASEAN films but also expressed a desire to see more of these.

It appears that bodies charged with implementing film exchanges should now strike while the iron is hot. And in the words of Eddie Infante, a Filipino filmmaker, "There is no quicker — nor a more accurate way of knowing a country than through her films."¹⁶

He ventures that a serious study of Japanese films, for instance, will reveal to us aspects of their national character: their work ethics, deep religiosity and honor-consciousness. In the same manner, he maintains that if you viewed films produced in India, you would come up with a pretty clear picture of India, her

people, her way of life, her culture, her social structure, her traditions, her superstitions, her rituals, how young swains court the ladies and so forth.¹⁷

The increased utilization of film as a vehicle for mutual understanding, therefore, should be maximized. Present mechanism for film exchanges should, therefore, be reassessed to make them more responsive to present needs.

Undoubtedly both the ASEAN Film Festival and the ASEAN Film Week have generated a keener appreciation of films produced in the region and have created an audience for such. Indeed, it seems that films shown have whetted an appetite for more of the same.

The viability of film exchanges on a commercial basis remains to be demonstrated. The ASEAN Film Festival could perhaps be expanded to include a market section as in the Cannes Film Festival or the Manila International Film Festival. Problems relating to surcharges, quotas and export regulations could be ironed out.

The Festival could also include a symposium featuring actors, actresses, directors, cinematographers and film editors discussing their craft before their local counterparts and film buffs. In this manner, sharing of expertise and experiences is structured and formalized.

The time seems to be ripe for co-productions which could be cross-culturally enriching. The pre-production, production and post-production phases will give filmmakers and artists the opportunities to work together and learn from one another. The final product, filmed most probably in different Asian settings, will bring to the fore shared commonalities.

NOTE

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2. Ibid.
3. *UNESCO on the Threshold of the 80's*, UNESCO, Paris, 1978, p.
4. Lewis, *op. cit.*
5. *UNESCO on the Threshold of the 1980's*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
6. Ibid.
7. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 24..
8. Ibid., p. 12.
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10. *Philippine Working Paper*, Second ASEAN Seminar on Mass Media, Bali, June 16-20, 1977, p. 5.
11. Ibid.
12. *Philippine Working Paper No. 2 Report of the First Meeting of the ASEAN Permanent Committee on Mass Media*, Kuala Lumpur, October 26-28, 1970, p. 2.
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Interrelationship among Mass Communication Media

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It is severally recognized that communication is essential to the existence of society. From primitive society of the tribal days to modern civilized society of the present, communication is vital to the formation and continuance of society. In other words, communication is the web upon which society's survival depends. In the centuries between the tribal and modern societies, communication as a social process has not changed, but, rather devices and structures have been developed to enlarge and extend communication functions. Simple, informal and casual pattern of communication has been formalized. Communication activities become more complex and more sophisticated. Some communication institutions have grown up — the mass communication media.

The world today is one of complexity and sophistication in which mass

communication plays an important role. Mass communication is, therefore, the central focus of wide attention. As an academic discipline, the social scientists have become interested in studying the process and effects of mass communication.

The interrelationships among mass communication media with which this paper deals are also very interesting. Such interrelationships take place in various aspects as follows:

1. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Mass communication media, whether print or electronic, in any polity have rather specific sets of directions for their performance. These guiding concepts are rather tightly tied to the types of government. This means that various mass communication media operating in the

same country, under a certain type of government have to follow the same guidelines set by the authority. In other words, newspapers, radio, television as well as film have one thing in common, i.e., the policy or guidelines of the government which they all have to follow similarly.

Out of the wide and intricate mass communication media systems of the world, a few ideological patterns take form and stand out. These ideological patterns can be classified as (1) the authoritarian theory, (2) the communist theory, (3) the libertarian theory, and (4) the social responsibility theory.¹ Each of the different types of mass communication media of the specific country, therefore, operates alike according to the theory which has its root in the national political ideology.

Authoritarian Theory

Under the authoritarian theory, the mass communication media are to support the government in every respect and advance the programs of the national leadership. They owe their existence to the state and must operate to support and perpetuate the authority of that state which permits them to survive. Mass communication media have just as much freedom as the national leadership wants them to have. Usually, criticism of political machinery and officials in power is forbidden.

Communist Theory

Under this theory, the functions of mass communication media come from the central function, i.e., the perpetuation and expansion of the socialist system. Mass communication media exist to

transmit social policy and contribute to the success and continuance of the socialist society. They are simply instruments of the government; as such they are integral parts of the state. They must be owned and used by the state and directed by the Communist Party or its agencies. Criticism of Party objectives is prohibited. Strict control through surveillance and economic or political action of the Party and government is apparent.

Libertarian Theory

The mass communication media under the libertarian theory function to discover truth and to check on government. They serve as the informational link between government and people. Practically, defamation, obscenity, indecency and wartime sedition are forbidden. Freedom of the mass communication media is relatively highly recognized and the control by the government is kept to the minimum.

Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory has its roots in the libertarian theory. However, it is different from the libertarian theory in that it places a great many moral and ethical restrictions on the mass communication media. Though freedom is recognized, the mass communication media, however, must also assume obligation of social responsibility. And if they do not, things like community opinion, consumer action, professional ethics must see that they do. Usually, serious invasion of recognized private rights and vital social interests is prohibited.

2. SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

The interrelationships among mass communication media in terms of functions are quite different from the interrelationships in political ideology. The interrelationships in ideology imply that the mass communication media of different political systems will operate under different political philosophies. The interrelationships in social functions mean that mass communication media of any country perform the same functions to serve the society regardless of political disparity. This implies that not only different forms of mass communication media but also mass communication media of different countries perform the same functions in societies. By and large, the mass communication media perform four major functions which can be classified as (1) surveillance of the environment, (2) correlation of the parts of society in responding to the environment, (3) transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next,² and (4) entertainment.³

Surveillance refers to the collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment, both outside and within any particular society. To some extent it corresponds to what is popularly conceived as news reporting or informing.

Acts of correlation include interpretation of information about the environment and suggestion for conduct in response to the events. These can be identified as editorial or persuasion.

Transmission of the social heritage focuses on the communicating of knowledge, values, and social norms from one generation to another. This is the educational function of the mass communication media.

Entertainment refers to communication activities intended for amusement.

These four major functions are or can be commonly performed by mass communication media of any type and of any country.

3. SOCIAL EFFECTS

Another kind of interrelationships can be found in the common effects of mass communication media on society and people. Research dealing with social effects of different mass communication media on various human attitudes and behaviors ranging from buying, aesthetic and intellectual tastes, fashions, motion picture preferences, crime and violence to voting reveals similar results.⁴ This means that regardless of the type, mass communication media have common effects. These can be identified as follows:⁵

1. The influence of mass communication media upon their audience is not direct but rather is mediated by various factors.

a. Predispositions

The audience of mass communication media consists of people who live among other people and amid social institutions. As a result, they have developed opinions on a great variety of topics, a set of values, and a set of behavioral tendencies influenced by the people they contact and the social institutions they belong to. A person carries these predispositions toward them when he serves as a member of the audience of mass communication media.

b. Selective Processes

These predispositions are at work before and during the individual's

exposure to mass communication media. They in fact largely determine the messages to which the individual is exposed, how he interprets their contents and what he remembers. Research findings show that people select material which is in accord with their existing views and interests, and they largely avoid material which is not in accord with those views and interests. They interpret the material they are exposed to according to their existing values and beliefs. And finally, they remember material which supports their own point of view much better than they remember material which attacks that point of view.

c. Interpersonal Influence

As far as the interpersonal influence is concerned, the effects of the message from the mass communication media on their audience seem to be indirect because their message passes through two steps, i.e., from the mass communication media to opinion leaders, and from opinion leaders to their followers who mutually interact in everyday life. This is called "the two-step flow of communication." Each member of the mass media audience interacts with one another. Some are more influential than the others. These influentials are the opinion leaders who influence their followers upon the message of the mass communication media. They pass the message to their followers as well as persuade them toward their views concerning the message.

d. Economic Aspects

Mass communication media in free enterprise societies provide variety of opinions and values from which the audience can freely select. It is the free market of ideas where various mass communication media compete with one

another to win the public support for their stances. The audience, with their existing attitudes, will decide to which of the different ideas they will subscribe.

2. Because of these mediated factors, the audience members do not present themselves to mass communication media in a state of psychological nudity; they are, instead, clothed and protected. Mass communication media, therefore, usually serve as an agent of reinforcement. They reinforce the existing attitudes, tastes, predispositions and behavioral tendencies of their audience members.

3. These very same factors may under some conditions make mass communication media an agent of change. However, this process of change occurs when the audience member is predisposed toward change. A person may find his previous attitudes and behaviors to be no longer satisfying. Such a person is likely to seek new values and ways of action. By this means, he, therefore, has become predisposed to change before being exposed to the mass communication media. The media simply provide the means for the change.

4. OWNERSHIP

The fourth kind of interrelationships among mass communication media is the joint or group or chain ownership. This trend seems to be gradually increasing due to economic crisis and the high cost of operation. The joint ownership takes place in two forms. The first kind is the joint ownership among the same type of mass communication media. An example is the merger and chain ownership of print media. In the United States, some 165 groups exist, controlling about 870

dailies and accounting for nearly half of the country's daily circulation. Many weeklies are combination operations in which one company will print several other papers in the surrounding area.⁶

In Britain, about 75 percent of the 27 million papers sold daily came from printing presses owned by four organizations in 1968. The four major chains together control about half of Britain's principal dailies and weeklies.⁷

The second kind of interrelationships in ownership is the chain ownership among different types of mass communication media. Example of this kind can be found in the United States where newspaper publishers own almost one-fourth of television stations and almost one-tenth of radio stations.⁸

5. PERSONNEL

The mass communication media have a common need for men and women with creative minds who can transmit information and ideas effectively. Their personnel can shift from one medium to another quite easily. Though certain details of techniques may be varied from one medium to another, the basic principles of mass communication among humans are rather similar in all types of mass communication media. The newspaper reporter with a pleasant voice may become a radio commentator. Though he must write his copy in a more narrative style to please the ear rather than the eye, the precepts of objectivity, fairplay, and persistent digging for facts he practiced in newspaper reporting still apply. The broadcaster may desire to see his viewpoint preserved in more durable form, so he writes a magazine article. Numerous prominent motion picture actors "break in" on television, then move into films.⁹

6. SOURCES OF NEWS

There are various sources from which any mass communication medium can seek for news. These sources of news are individual persons, news agencies, special news services, syndicates, "stringers," staff correspondents of mass communication media and private and government organizations. These are the common sources of news which all mass communication media share. Although the reports are prepared in slightly different forms to meet the technical requirements of the different media, they are similar in essence.

7. SOURCES OF ADVERTISING REVENUE

Mass communication media are complex organizations embodying extensive division of labor and an accompanying degree of expense. Since they are a huge industry with great expense, their survival, therefore, depends upon the money they can make. The large portion of the money each mass communication medium can draw comes from the advertising revenue. Without advertising revenue, newspapers and magazines could not be sold at their present prices and radio and TV programs could not be provided without charge.

The money providers, however, are limited and are the same resources for all mass communication media. They are the advertisers from whom mass communication media compete with one another to get their shares. Large national advertisers, however, conduct sales campaigns for their products in the press and on the air simultaneously, spending huge sums to make certain that their advertisements reach a mass audience as frequently as

possible. They are employing the proved technique of repetition. These mass campaigns are beneficial to all mass communication media.

8. MUTUAL SUPPORT

Besides the commonness they share, mass communication media are also mutually dependent and supportive. The mutual support can take place in three forms: effectiveness, revenue and promotion.

Effectiveness

Each mass communication medium has its own limited potential. A certain kind of mass media may be more effective than other media in one phenomenon but less effective in other phenomena. Print media are relatively more durable, but rather ineffective when the target audience is illiterate. Television may be more attractive and requires no literary skill but may be not available in remote rural areas. For the purpose of the increase of communication effectiveness, the combined use of various mass communication media is the ideal since they can be mutually supportive. Recognizing this fact, various mass campaigns use multi-media as a means of communication.

Revenue

As mentioned earlier, the large portion of the mass media's revenue comes from advertisements. However, one source of advertising revenue of a certain medium is the mass communication media in other fields. This evidence is apparent nowadays. The film studios, theaters, and television producers are heavy advertisers in newspapers and magazines, and

newspapers take commercial time on radio and television to publicize their features in an effort to build circulation. This is the way in which the mutual support among various mass communication media takes place in terms of revenue.

Promotion

Another possible mutual support aims at the promotion of each of the mass communication media in contact. An example can be found in Thailand where leading dailies publish the stories of the popular TV serials in order to promote circulation as well as to enlarge the TV audience. The final result is certainly the increase of advertisement in both media.

9. INTERRELATIONSHIPS AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL

Interrelationships among mass communication media can take place outside the borders of the countries as well. This is the form of international interrelationship which is evident at present especially in the interrelationship at the regional level. Generally, such inter-relationships aim at cooperation among mass communication institutions of various countries of the region. The cooperation may take place in such forms as the exchange of technology and information, the development of mass communication media practitioners and the promotion of the standard of operation, the efficient flow of news among the countries in the region. As far as Asia and the Pacific region are concerned, such effort can be found in various instances. One example is the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union. The joint news agency of the Asian-Pacific region which is being attempted is another example. In a certain part of the

region, the Confederation of ASEAN Journalists has been formed.

REGIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE

It is generally recognized that mass communication media function to transmit the cultural matters and values to their audience. This can be done within as well as across a national boundary. At the regional level, cultural exchange exists through the interrelationships among mass communication media of various countries of the region. The sources of cultural exchange are as follows:

a. News Agencies

The flow of international news is not only highly important and useful to mass communication media, it is actually the starting point, the basic requisite of mass communication system geared to better understanding among races, nationalities and cultures.¹⁰ International news provided by news agencies allow people of one country to know what is going on in other parts of the region, what other peoples' way of life is like. Through the service of news agencies, cultural exchange exists in the region.

b. Regional Mass Communication Institutions

Regional cooperation among mass communication institutions is also the source of cultural exchange. One function of the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, for example, is to act as the center for program exchange. Through the exchange of programs among the member countries, cultural exchange is achieved.

Training programs as well as seminars and conventions also bring about exchange of culture among mass media practitioners.

c. Local Mass Communication Media

Besides news agencies and regional cooperation, mass communication media in each country of the region can also contribute to cultural exchange. This usually happens in such forms as features in newspapers, documentary films, and cultural programs on radio and television.

Through the interrelationships among mass communication media of various countries, cultural exchange can be achieved. What should be done in the future is the promotion of more cultural exchange.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that mass communication media of various kinds are closely interrelated in many aspects. They turn to common sources for talents, for news, for ideas, for money and even for ownership. They share the common functions, political guidelines, and social effects. In addition, they are dependent upon one another and are mutually supportive. They compete with each other for the audience's time and the advertiser's money. They, however, realize that basically they are serving the same purpose — to provide the audience with news, opinions, knowledge and entertainment.

Interrelationships also exist beyond national boundaries. Among other things, these interrelationships result in cultural exchange which takes place through regional cooperation as well as local effort.

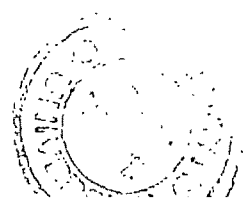
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The American Press and the Chamorro View of the World

Catherine S. Gault

Pacific Daily News

Guam

PREFACE

This paper began as an attempt to answer a question once asked of me by John M. Simpson, executive editor of the *Pacific Daily News*. He asked, "Why don't more Guamanians get into journalism?" At the time, I felt I knew the answer, but couldn't voice it. With a little research to back my thoughts, I now think I have given at least in part an answer.

Under this title, the paper was originally researched and written to fulfill the requirements of a university communications course in advanced reporting and writing in December, 1980.

It was then rewritten into news style and published in the March 15, 1981 edition of the *Pacific Daily News* under the headline, "Where are the Chamorro Journalists?" That version of the paper was reprinted with publisher's permission in Volume Ten, 1981, of the *Pacific Islands Communication Journal*, sponsored by the Pacific Islands News Association, Suva Fiji, and published by the Department of Business, Massey University, New Zealand.

The paper was again revised and expanded and published in the March, 1982 edition of *Gannetteer*, the Gannett Corporation magazine for employees and stockholders. In that issue, it appeared under the headline, "Guamanians Raise News Consciousness."

The paper presented at this Convention represents an incorporation of all the published versions. Perhaps now all those who read it will, like John Simpson, know part of the answer to a very complex question.

C. S. G.

August, 1982.

Anthropologically, a society's view of the world assists in explaining various observable aspects of the culture it produces. From this world view, a society's reason to exist can be examined and partially ascertained. A world view contains a society's myths and legends, the stories that tell the society's members why life as they know and experience it exists as it does and how the unexplainable as they contemplate it can be explained.

According to American anthropologist, Alan Beal, a society's world view offers perspectives into what its members perceive as reality and what is not. He tells us that all individuals require a framework of reasoning for doing that which, in their society, must be done. Beal says:

Philosophy and religion are intertwined in the formation of a world view, a grand explanation of what life is all about. The world view is the intellectual cement that attaches the individual firmly to a cultural system.¹

With this in mind, we can look at what appears initially to be a clashing of two different cultural aspects. But because of this closer look, however, the clash gives way to change — the hallmark of a dynamic culture.

Presently, anthropologists tell us that almost all industrialized societies ascribe to what they call popular culture — culture that changes constantly and rather quickly because of the advancements and technological sophistication of modern mass media communication.² Fashions, fads, attitudes and ideas appear, shift and disappear fleetingly like the color pieces and patterns of an ever-turning kaleidoscope.

We describe popular culture as constantly

changing, based in large, heterogeneous groups of people concentrated mainly in urban areas. Popular material goods are mass-produced by machines in factories, and a money economy prevails. Relationships between individuals are more numerous but less personal... and family structure is weaker... A distinct division of labor, reflected in myriad, highly specialized 'professions' and 'jobs,' characterizes the earning of a livelihood... Secular institutions of control, such as police, army, and courts, take the place of family and church in maintaining orders.³

CULTURE, CHANGE AND THE VIEW OF THE WORLD

However, many Americans, most of whom are products and transmitters of popular culture, find it difficult to keep abreast of these constant changes. In general, Americans have had several centuries to advance their technology and to complicate their culture, but even then sometimes they find trying to cope with change disruptive. Yet they also fail to understand that other cultures have an equally if not more difficult time adapting — both to the rapid changes of popular culture and to the established precepts set in their own.

Perhaps the reason for this is popular culture, as culture in general, demands a certain amount of conformity. To be out of sync, out of trend, is to be branded behind the times, a relic of the past. To work as an integrated whole, several if not a majority of the aspects of a culture must be practiced by most of a society's members.

All human beings are products of their cultures or of the cultures that dominate theirs. Culture and enculturation — the

lifelong process of learning to become a member of a society — account for much of the make of an individual's personality.⁴ As new aspects are introduced into a cultural system, they may either be incorporated in toto, modified and melded or totally rejected. Often after such introductions, even older more established aspects also undergo change, refinement, revision or rejection.

THE CHAMORRO WORLD VIEW AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

The ancient Chamorros, like the members of all other societies throughout history, have had to revise their world view after each new contact with outside influences. But before Spanish ships sailed into her harbors, Guam and its people were technologically simple, materialistically uncomplicated and nearly isolated. According to old Chamorro legends, Guam was the center of the earth — all life sprang from Guam to spread life. In other legends, Sirena, the Chamorro maiden who loved to swim, disobeyed her mother and was turned into a fish. The two lovers for whom a towering cliff was named could escape the edicts of their parents only by leaping to their deaths in the ocean. The great chief Gadao of Inarajan had superhuman strength and invoking his anger was all but wise. Taotaomona, the spirits of "before time" ancestors that were probably introduced into Chamorro folklore after the arrival of the Spaniards, would, if not accorded proper respect, bring on sores and illnesses unresponsive to accepted herbal and magical treatment methods.

These explanations of the way things are and should be were simple and uncluttered with the need to deal with other views and explanations. Even well into

the twentieth century Chamorros clung to cultural aspects beliefs typical of small isolated, agrarian island communities. In generalizing Chamorro society prior to World War II, Dr. Pedro Sanchez, a Chamorro historian and educator, wrote:

They evolved a society where caring for one another and sharing what they have with their relatives and friends characterized their way of life.⁵

This description clearly outlines the interdependency necessary for living in relative isolation and for the most equitable distribution of limited natural resources. The Spaniards, however, introduced Christianity and a contributing European code of behavior. They changed much of the early Chamorro way of life and its view of the world. They augmented an already existing caste system based on social status and caused it to change into a class system based on economics. And they also introduced disease.

In doing so, the Spaniards nearly decimated the Chamorro population and almost totally destroyed Chamorro manhood during a 25-year period of minor skirmishes — iron swords and gunpowder against wooden spears and slingstones.⁶ Although several years were necessary for the task, Spanish intervention led to the disruption of age-old Chamorro social, economic, religious and political patterns. As a result many Chamorro cultural skills and material technologies were lost forever. No longer could Chamorros build and sail the flying proas, native canoes so envied by early European visitors.

After 300 years of Spanish influence, post-contact Chamorros bore little

resemblance to their free-spirited and caste-conscious ancestors. From a different more Western perspective, American anthropologist Laura Thompson, who devoted several years to the study of Chamorros and their culture, described Chamorros of the 1940s this way:

He still has respects for the aged . . . He values outward harmony more highly than being right or correcting a mistake. Thus he will not make a scene nor offend someone when something goes wrong. He considers ridicule unpleasant and goes to great lengths to avoid public disgrace.⁷

In many respects, modern Chamorros, or Guamanians as they now opt to call themselves, still fit this description. Much of what now survives as Chamorro culture has been transmitted by Chamorro women.⁸ Either by choice or by necessity, Chamorro women married men of various other cultural backgrounds. From a once proud matriarchal society, Chamorro women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries evolved a culture based on submission to, and respect for, authority or political power while still retaining many aspects of the pre-contact cultural system. This submission began with their husbands, the majority of whom were reared in patriarchal societies.

This respect for authority was apparent even to an outsider. Thompson wrote:

We see that the Guamanian child learns at an early age to obey . . . But he also learns the art of conforming to the requirements of the social system while inconspicuously pursuing his own ends.⁹

In another description of Chamorros, she wrote:

Outstanding among these is the native respect for authority so noticeable among the ancient Chamorros. Respect for authority . . . is instilled into the Guamanian child from birth into a cumulative hierarchical pattern, respect for parents and ancestors being reinforced by respect for the supernatural, and clergy, the officials and the government.¹⁰

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE CHAMORROS

Try now to imagine the atmosphere on Guam at the time the United States acquired it from Spain in 1898. The American practice of establishing on Guam a government headed by United States Navy officers played well into the pre-existing Chamorro view that authority is to be unquestioned. Chamorros respectfully yielded to this form of authority and the Naval Government demanded it, just as it expected such submission from the sailors in its ranks. Relatively autonomous from the homeland United States and with a bending people to govern, the pre- and postwar Naval Government of Guam worked relatively effortlessly for Navy government officials.

Thompson described the power welded by that form of government in this way:

Thus it came about that authority of the naval governor of Guam over the civilian population of the island was and still is in certain respects greater than the comparable power of any other U.S. official, even the President, himself, for in the governor rests the highest civilian appeal to injustice, the supreme power of life and death.¹¹

So all-encompassing was the naval

governor's power that he, on several occasions, blocked any Guamanian attempts to attain American citizenship.¹² For the Guamanian, citizenship marked his ultimate acceptance of all things American. Guamanians tried several times before World War II to show America that they wanted to accept.¹³ Yet for years following the war, the Navy limited entry into Guam. Special clearances were necessary for a visitor not on official naval government business to set foot on the island.¹⁴

Thompson, who championed Guamanian American citizenship and who was denied re-entry to Guam by the naval government after the war, wrote:

The Navy Department has again reported to Congress against citizenship for Guamanian . . . on the basis that the people of Guam are not qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities of that status.¹⁵

The culture of a military regime excluded native Guamanians — except as unobtrusive cooks, houseboys and domestics. Fraternizing with the natives was prohibited by law in Guam Navy regulations for many years. This added to the Chamorro feeling of not really belonging to America, it only compounded the feeling of being owned. Denied citizenship and excluded from the society of their "white masters," Guamanians were kept at arm's length from military Americans behind high wire fences, and as such, their traditional respect for authority was highlighted and kept intact.

This in turn led to a basic mistrust of anyone white and transient.¹⁶

However, as more aspects of American culture filtered through the fences, as advances in American technology spanned the Pacific, Chamorro culture became a

subculture of the fast-becoming-more-dominant American culture.

As described in anthropology:

A subculture is a group functioning within the general confines of the larger group while observing a set of rules that is somewhat different from the standard.¹⁷

While the standard of American culture is freedom and individuality and the "right" to question why, the standard of Chamorro culture at that time, and for the most part still is, toward an unquestioning respect for authority and those who hold it.

After 52 years of American rule, Guamanians at last became "qualified to assume the duties and responsibilities" of citizenship when the Organic Act of Guam in 1950 made them citizens of the United States. But after only 30 years as second-class American citizens, Guamanians are expected to embrace most of the aspects of America's popular culture. Many second generation postwar Guamanians are still little more than children. Perhaps they will be better attuned to American culture than were their grandparents.

Granted many of the aspects of the American cultural system existed in pre- and postwar Guam, Guamanians had little enculturation. Most by exclusion, a few by their own choice, Guamanians were kept from the only American models from whom to learn, namely, the military.

The upheaval wrought by the war was not only upon the landscape. In the ensuing peace, Guam's social, economic and political structure again underwent rapid changes, the effects of which are still being felt in Guam today.

Upon its recapture by the Americans,

Guam became a major U.S. naval Pacific base, outwardly transformed by military installations, four-lane highways, airfields and ammunition dumps. Hundreds thousands of American troops have been quartered there, and the life of the people has been altered accordingly.¹⁸

After the American reoccupation of Guam it became necessary for the government to provide the Guamanians with most of the necessities of life . . . Because of war damage, most could not earn a living. The government had to provide jobs.¹⁹

Despite the changes, exclusion from most authority-wielding positions continued as evidenced by Thompson's observation:

With the exception of the Postmaster, who functions under federal rather than naval government regulations, it should be noted that no Guamanian or other civilian holds a top government position. These are reserved for imported, short-term naval officers.²⁰

Yet in less than a hundred years Guam has changed from a sleepy little Spanish colony, a spiffy little American military outpost, a bloody battleground and a bastion of American military might into a rapidly developing American community.

In the four or so decades since the war, Guamanians were expected suddenly to govern themselves according to the edicts and principles of a civil government and of a cultural system with which they had little previous experience. Despite an initial lack of experience, however, Guamanians are learning. They have learned to earn livings by becoming more proficient in "highly specialized professions and jobs." But not many have entered the newspaper field because

there is still a basic contradiction in cultural beliefs.

A Guamanian, while becoming more and more "American," still clings to the basic belief that it is wrong to question authority, which is a basic function of American journalism.

RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY VERSUS THE "RIGHT TO KNOW"

Very few of the nearly 60,000 native Guamanians (some white Americans who make Guam their home also opt for the name "Guamanian") have ventured into the writing and reporting field and this is a phenomenon that surprises seasoned journalists who come to the island.

After the dramatic investigative work of *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein in uncovering the Watergate scandal, American journalism schools were glutted with fired-up fledgling reporters hoping to find their own big stories.

Chamorros, however, do not seem to be attracted to the whirl of the presses or the glare of press conferences. Perhaps limited career opportunities on Guam, off-island ownership of the media and limited local training contribute to this.

Local media executives tried unsuccessfully for years to attract native Guamanians into the newsroom. Guamanians, they believed, should be as fired up with the same freedom-loving, justice-seeking ardor of their mainland American counterparts, but they found that to be untrue and were until recently exasperated.

The purposes and functions of the American newspaper have changed through the years. American newspapers have grown along parallels of American

thought, but American journalism has had several hundred years to accomplish this.²¹

Guamanians have only had 30 years to begin learning that under an American system of government and journalism authority can be questioned. They have not had sufficient time to learn that authority in a democratic society should be questioned; before they can begin to question, they have to be made to believe that they can question.

The American journalist, Alan Barth, in a speech about the "Press as Censor of Government," said:

It is supposed to give people of a democratic society the information about the world they live in and about what their government is doing without which they cannot possibly . . . be self-governing. This is . . . the business of the news pages.²²

Before being accorded the privileges of the Organic Act, Guamanians did not live in a democratic society, they lived according to the rules and regulations of a military society in which there is no democracy. Their new-found freedom to be informed, to demand to be informed, has taken at least 30 years to begin to develop. But Guamanians are learning to deal with the duties, rights and privileges of being American. They are also learning about their freedoms and what the press can do for them. It is with a little awe that they see the power of a free press. Listen again to Barth and try to hear him through Guamanian ears:

It has long been a settled matter in American life that newspapers can cuss the government as loudly and as unreasonably as they please, but few government officials have the hardihood to cuss out the newspapers and none of

them dares to suggest that newspapers be called to account in any way for their supposed misconduct.²³

THE AMERICAN FREE PRESS ON GUAM

Although the technology of the press grows rapidly and a newspaper's purposes change with the needs of the people it serves, newspapers now also serve Guamanians more fully than they had in the past. Prior to World War II, the newspaper available on Guam served the purposes of the American military and reported news of "home."

The *Guam Daily News*, Guam's first free newspaper, locally produced and published and was owned by a native Guamanian, who, without enough trained Guamanian reporters at his disposal, began the practice of enlisting short-term transient mainland reporters. The *Guam Daily News* began rolling off the presses in 1950, the same year Guamanians became Americans.

Although the idea of a free press may be as new to Guam as citizenship, Guamanians, like other humans on the face of the earth, are adapting. They are learning. Though some of the changes are threatening to bring about the extinction of the Chamorro culture, the threats have moved Guamanians to preserve what is left. To do this, they have moved into education, government, law and medicine. Within the past few years Guamanians have also braved the traditions that say, "This is what you must do." Now many are beginning to ask, "Why?"

Of all things American, the press is most likely to insist, "Why?" Despite local production, the mass media on Guam have long suffered the criticisms

that only mainland American views and opinions were reported and disseminated. Local news events were often delivered from perspective oceans away.

How, local residents asked, can transplanted reporters write about island happenings they do not understand? How can they report about legislative sessions or public meetings that crisscross from English to Chamorro — Guam's native tongue — when emotions boil?

While learning about their rights to be informed, Guamanians began to discover that imported mainland journalists might not always give them the information they want and need.²⁴ They are learning that the agenda of news on Guam may sometimes best be reported and interpreted by Guamanian reporters. Waiting to rectify the situation was a new generation of Guamanians who stepped forward to willingly butt their heads against a centuries-old idea that authority should not be questioned.

CONCLUSION: THE WELDING OF TWO WORLD VIEWS

Now Chamorro bylines appear regularly above news, sports and feature newspaper, radio and television stories. Even Chamorro words are beginning to be used in these stories. In times past, whole quotes in Chamorro made rarer appearances than local-name bylines.

The *Pacific Daily News*, successor to

the *Guam Daily News*, is a member of the Gannett chain of newspapers, one of the largest media chains in the United States. But in the ten years of Gannett ownership, the *Pacific Daily News* has come a long way just since 1978 when more than 500 protestors and spectators of various ethnic backgrounds and professions chanted and waved placards at the paper's doors. They protested the newspaper's policy of not accepting public announcements and advertisements written entirely in Chamorro. Following the demonstration, the *Pacific Daily News* rescinded its ban on Chamorro. Now "Juan Malimanga," a locally produced comic strip character, pulls his pranks and tells his jokes in Chamorro — untranslated. Adjacent to the strip, the *Pacific Daily News* also publishes "Fino' Chamorro," a daily Chamorro language lesson. The comic strip and the language lesson are part of a joint effort between the newspaper and the Government of Guam's education department to promote Chamorro language and culture.

Because of the work of more Chamorro writers, the regular appearance of Chamorro dialogue and daily dose of Chamorro humor, many Guamanian readers now feel that "esta pago i Daily News la Chamorro" — the *Daily News* is at last more Chamorro.

NOTES

1. Alan R. Beal, *Culture in Process* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 100.
2. Terry G. Jordan and Lester Roundtree, *The Human Mosaic* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 264.
3. Jordan and Roundtree, p. 264.
4. Beal, p. 345.

5. Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guam Were the Days* (Agana, Guam: Star Press, n. d.), p. 7.
6. Janice J. Beaty, *Discovering Guam* (Tokyo, Japan: Tokyo News Service Ltd., 1967), pp. 2-3.
7. Laura Thompson, *The Native Culture of the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 185, 1945), p. 10.
8. Laura Thompson, *Guam and Its People* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1947), p. v.
9. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. 252.
10. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. 287.
11. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. 67.
12. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. 79.
13. Paul Carano and Pedro Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam* (Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1964), pp. 350-351.
14. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. vii.
15. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. 79.
16. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, pp. 286-287.
17. William A. Haviland, *Anthropology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), p. 293.
18. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, pp. v-vi.
19. Carano and Sanchez, p. 327.
20. Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, p. 78.
21. Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 40.
22. *The Social Responsibility of the Newspapers* (Milwaukee, Wisc.: Marquette University Press, 1962), p. 9.
23. *The Social Responsibility of the Newspapers*, p. 7.
24. *The Social Responsibility of the Newspapers*, p. 11.

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Hermeneutics and the Translation of Germanic Reform Concepts into Chinese in the Late Ch'ing Period:

A Study of Early Methods and Problems of Mass Communication and Cultural Exchange in the Asian-Pacific Region

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The popular demonstration of the ingenuity of modern scientific man and of the inventions of new means for rapid international communications made at the first World Industrial Exhibition at Crystal Palace, London in 1851, among other things, gave an added strength and new vitality to the evangelical protestant Christian international reform movement which was to dominate the drive to communicate Western knowledge to China and to reform it.

The new type of political reforming missionaries produced by the evangelical revival, or the great religious awakening as it was called in the Americas, had been waiting in the wings since early in the romantic revival of which they formed a part, to redeem the world by saving nations rather than by saving individual souls in order to create one harmonious world order with all peoples of all nations

communicating intelligibly with each other and having mutual understanding which evangelists believed was prophesied in the sacred scriptures.

They were already well equipped to realize these aims before the exhibition of the achievements of the industrial revolution. They had, firstly, a strong fundamental faith which provided them with confidence to act. It would be tangential to describe here the beliefs of this group of Christian activists who were drawn together from various confessions and sects to work for the universal salvation of man, and for the reform of China in particular. Briefly stated, they held four significant tenets of faith. They believed the world, because of the fall of man from paradise, was in a state of backwardness and decay, brought about by the influence of Satanic forces. In the field of communication this decay

and backwardness was manifested for them by national language barriers which they believed, according to the myth of Babel which they valued, was one of the results of man's fall from paradise where only one community speaking one language existed. This Babel of tongues and other evidences of "backwardness" made evangelists despair and made them determined to act to reform or redeem peoples and nations to recreate paradise in the form of world unity, harmony and mutual understanding.

They further believed that spiritual belief and not secular nor materialist forces was the prime factor in effecting reform; in making high civilizations and in developing national and communal prosperity where all would benefit. This belief was clearly evidenced for them by the romantic view of Europe in the Middle Ages which Germanic and other research historians increasingly produced, to show that harmony based on spiritual unity had produced the idealized civilization of the courtly knights of legend.

Added to this they believed that the new evangelical faith, fundamentalist in nature, and based on the mystical-pietistic revival which they believed had caused the rise to power of modern Europe and its modern industrial revolution, was the new saving grace for all peoples and nations on earth. Other beliefs — materialist — religious and even Christian they viewed as either Satanic or imperfect ideologies to be challenged and condemned.

They correlatively believed in contradistinction to Calvinists, that mankind did not have to await the advent of the Messiah to achieve perfection on earth. They were convinced that Christian evangelical activists, equipped with the correct spiritual beliefs could lead man to

perfectability and could by their own human efforts recreate the lost paradise on earth.

Finally, therefore, the evangelists believed that because they had experienced religious enlightenment which made them human agents for the Holy Ghost, they were specially equipped and solely able to lead nations to reform and peoples to redemption. Other reformers or developers who sought to modernise their nations and peoples without following the "new theology" were regarded as potential Pharaohs who were destined to rule in a state of permanent backwardness like in ancient Egypt which was pictured in their sermons and commentaries as a model of backwardness. The real hero for the evangelical revivalists was the holy figure of Moses who built a nation on spiritual faith.

Secondly, they saw a need for action to spread their faith. This need was seen to stem not only from an ever increasing awareness of the backwardness and decay in much of the world, and from increasing contacts and improved communications which offered new opportunities to engage in missionary expansion work, but also from the fear that Satanic forces or other agents of backwardness, in other words new modern Pharaohs would take the new opportunities offered by the invention of new technical devices and of scientific improvements in transport and communication, and use these to lead people along wrong roads to progress at the expense of evangelical protestant Christianity. Urgent widespread action by evangelical Christian missionaries was, therefore, considered essential.

Thirdly, in order to practically realize their world-wide aims for salvation, they created effective organizations whose influences were felt on a world-wide scale.

It was these missionary society organizations and not secular governmental or private organizations which conveyed Western knowledge and offered guides for reform and modernization.

The opportunity for evangelical protestant Christian missionaries to act as a unique elite in China to achieve their reform aims was enhanced by the general decision made by the foreign powers in the latter part of the nineteenth century not to officially help China to reform because of their bad experiences in the field of reform in the Middle East. There, earlier efforts by European powers to provide remedies to help heal the "sick man of Europe" – the Ottoman Empire, had resulted in national rivalries and jealousies, and in international tensions. European statesmen had no desire to see this re-occur in the distant Far East when China was seen to be in need of reform. Consequently the reforming remedies were left for private agents to apply there, and the best organized of these agents were the evangelical missionaries who were dedicated to the cause of social salvation in the Chinese Empire.

National reform-minded evangelists did not hesitate to take up the tremendous challenge and undertake the gigantic task of reconstructing and modernizing one of the world's largest and most populous nations. Many of them believed that sound reasons existed to make China into a main evangelical missionary field target, rather than Africa and the Pacific which were being opened up and missionized at the same time. China was viewed by the protestant historians and commentators who they favored as a civilized if decayed state, with a large population which traditionally exerted a cultural influence in the Asian-Pacific region. Its conversion, therefore, promised to benefit

Christendom not only by bringing prestige to Christianity and by adding to the mass of Christians in a way not seen since the conversion of Constantinople to Christ, but also by offering an established base for cultural influence in the Asian-Pacific region. Once Christianity replaced Confucianism in China, it was believed, the Chinese converts, because of the respect given to their civilized state, would spread the doctrine in the East and effect the conversion of other peoples and nations in the Asian-Pacific region. This is one reason why evangelical missionaries preferred to promote and use the Chinese language both in China and in overseas Chinese communities. They regarded Chinese as the lingua-Franca of the Asian-Pacific area, and as being the only local language which had the potential to create inter-regional understanding in the area.

The conversion of China seemed a likely possibility at the time it was being opened. News of the widespread successes and support for the Christian-influenced Taiping Rebellion and of the efforts of its leaders to create a new Heavenly Empire of Peace, not unlike the Christian prophesied New Jerusalem, made missionary efforts appear worthwhile. Certainly there was no shortage of missionary candidates and workers offering their services for the China mission which consequently rapidly expanded after China was opened to Christian missionaries by the Treaty of Tientsin and correlative treaties.

Missionaries who offered their services to help China reform, however, did not go to work in China unchallenged. Missionary societies and their supporters were split deeply on the question of political involvement by missionaries and on the question of whether individual souls or

national states should be converted and saved. The national reform minded missionaries consequently often found themselves isolated and denied funds and support by Christian missionaries who believed that proper mission work consisted of Gospel preaching and church work designed to spread the word of God as revealed in the Bible.

Finally, and nevertheless these missionary societies enjoyed the sustained, widespread support of the intelligentsia, the rich, the concerned and the poor at home who were committed to the cause of worldwide evangelism aimed at national reform. These varieties of supporters contributed knowledge, physical effort and monies in the form of large grants and small contributions of pence gathered in Sunday Schools.

Not all of the products of the evangelical who shared a common mystical pietistic origin and held beliefs in common, shared feelings of enthusiasm about the London Industrial Exhibition and the hopes it offered for man's salvation on earth. There was a distinct split at home between them on the matter. One group of fundamentalists who accepted a literal translation of chapter 11 of the Book of Genesis where the story of the Tower of Babel is recorded, took an oppositional unenthusiastic line.

The story of the Tower of Babel told in the Bible claims that at the beginning of the world all of the peoples spoke a single language with all using the same words. Later some people who settled in the land of Shinar, developed a technical capacity and used this and their enterprise to construct a tower to reach up to heaven. The Lord then came down and seeing how mortal men were using their energies trying to reach heaven by using technology and material means, confused

their speech so that they could not communicate with each other, and dispersed them about the earth. These, in the view of the evangelists, for their sins were made to live in language divisions so they could not readily communicate and co-operate with each other.

Valuing what they believed was the spiritual meaning of the Babel story, this group of fundamentalists concluded that the Crystal Palace and the exhibition there was nothing more than a new Tower of Babel built by modern materialist-technocrats and scientists whose ways and inventions would not more help men achieve the long dreamed City of God on earth, and would no more help establish a new international order on earth where all men would once again list and converse and communicate as one with one language, than as in the land of Shinar at the time of Babel.

However, this group of fundamentalists who were negative in attitude and somewhat Luddite in outlook, like the anti-Darwinists of the time did not win the day. A different more powerful group among the "new theologians," who created the impression that the new science in fact was a Christian science which could be used to construct developed Christian nations assumed power and took the initiative in missionary organizations. This became of telling importance.

Within this group, which was composed of varying elements bound by a common faith and a prophetic outlook — but holding different visions of the future for China, extending from nationalistic to internationalist utopians, and from romantic idealism to ruthless totalitarianism in the form of a Christian theocracy, one element stood out to make a distinctive contribution — the German

literary mission under the direction of Dr. Ernst Faber and later of Paul Kranz who was aided by Richard Wilhelm.

Faber, a mystical pietist from Coburg, went to China with the Rhenish Mission in 1865, after training in Barmen, Tübingen and Basel in Switzerland.

At that time conversion work in China moved slowly. Few neophytes were attracted. Missionary confidence for the future, however, did not wane although hopes for quick success faltered in particular during the anti-Christian campaigns which followed the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion and the impact of a new Christian forward movement.

The big turning point for the national reform evangelists came in 1876 and 1877 with the news of the Great Famine in China. This was viewed by missionaries as a heavenly sign that the Chinese people in fact were ruled by Pharaohs who lacked the knowledge and ability to produce from the resources provided by the natural environment, and who consequently offered only years of "lean," pestilence and plague. It was this appreciation of the Great Famine, and evangelical missionary confidence in their ability to apply new knowledge and technical capacities to the Chinese which provided the foundation of the great missionary forward movement which preceded and was consciously used to stimulate the Chinese reform movement which culminated in the hundred days reform campaign in 1898.

In the meantime influenced by the new mission science then being taught, despite pressures of work in his missionary church in Kwangtung province where he had been appointed in 1860 to preach and do medical missionary work, Faber applied himself diligently to the study of the Chinese language and to Chinese

classical literature. By the end of the 1860s he perceived with others that China was dominated by a literati and a pervasive Confucian ideology which he held to be false, and he also perceived that if Christianity was to be introduced to China with effectiveness and if China was to be led to political and social salvation by means of Christianity, then special literary missionary techniques would have to be adopted to counter the influence and destroy the power of the Confucian literati, and to promote Christian beliefs and plans for a higher civilization and material prosperity in China.

Faber commenced his special literary mission work in the Chinese language with an essay on German schools which in actual fact was a pointed attack on the Confucian system of classical education and on Chinese methods of teaching, offering instead the model of the modern European, in particular the German system of professional education. This book was widely circulated in Kwangtung province in 1873, and in later years throughout China.

Faber's main effort was put into an investigation of the Chinese classics firstly in order to see what sort of "revelation" the Chinese had experienced, and how religious was their moral based philosophy; secondly, to see what in the classics could be used to denounce Confucianism and to help the cause of Christianity, and thirdly, to explain to Europe and Europeans what "so-called Chinese civilization" consisted of.

Part of the significance of Faber is that he was already organized to make a literary impact before the Great Famine which stimulated other Christian missionaries to call a conference at Shanghai in 1877, to promote the establishment of literary work which was then not generally

accepted by missionary societies as normal missionary practice. Faber was later commissioned by this conference to produce an analytical and annotated study of the Chinese classics from a Christian point of view.

The prominent position Faber and his German literary mission soon assumed as a leader of the Christian literary missionary movement in China was not surprising. Although they were outnumbered by Anglo-American missionaries, the German missionaries who were much fewer in number had more in their favor. They were much better equipped. They had a well conceived, Biblically based, sophisticated theology which the Americans and to a lesser extent the British lacked. The Great Awakening in America and elsewhere in fact had primarily emanated from what could be called the counter-Enlightenment movement by German pietistic protestants who influenced not only romantic thought, but also American and British religious revivals. This theology was added to by an ever increasing stream of philosophical thought which served in particular to reinforce the pietistic belief that dual forces existed in the world — one for good and one for bad — one for progress and one for reaction — and the transcendental eschatological belief that the people of the world were destined to achieve a spiritual unity or monad as indicated by Leibnitz who exerted a continuous influence on pietistic beliefs and thoughts in Germany.

German missionaries, because of the theological training they received in Biblical studies, philology, textual analysis and hermeneutics, to indicate only a few subjects, were especially well equipped to make their impact felt in a literary society like China where they commenced to take

Confucianism apart in order to find out its fundamental nature, and then rebuild a new national Chinese Christian society on these old foundations — as was then being done by German Christian political activists at home who were working to construct a new nation there.

To this was added, to serve the German missionaries, newly conceived mission techniques which became mission science (*Missionswissenschaft*). These techniques were conceived and demonstrated in particular by Karl Graul of the Leipziger Mission, and the Swiss clergyman Ernst Buss of the German literary mission to East Asia. This scientific approach to missions impressed on German missionaries that in order to achieve results in the field, the missionary firstly had to study the literature, manners and customs of "the heathen people," and use this knowledge of culture as a medium for conversion. Secondly, the missionary had to carefully select the area in which he would work. Thirdly, administrators should administer the mission efficiently like a military operation. Fourthly, in order to achieve success on a national level, the missionary should convert groups and not save individual souls. To this Ernst Buss added the rule that in the case of literary societies like China, only well-qualified academics should be selected as Christian missionaries and sent to confront the literati.

It was this latter additional directive by Buss which in particular led to the application of the science of hermeneutics in a precise, disciplined way in the German mission in China. Learned, well-trained German intellectual missionaries such as Faber soon concluded from an appreciation of the work and influence of the Confucian literati, that the Christian concepts they wished to impress on

Chinese minds could only be done by careful, scholarly translation work according to the rules designed to convey correct meanings.

Hermeneutics — the science of discovering the true meaning or of interpreting the true meaning of a word in its grammatical context — like the art of exegesis — the art of the exposition of discovered or correctly interpreted meaning — was an old and well developed subject in the Judaic-Christian world. Religious and the religious minded there were essentially missionary in outlook. They desired to pass on to succeeding generations and the outside people the words of their prophets and the revealed words and thoughts of their God. This desire, in the case of passing religion on to succeeding generations after the age of prophets, meant that they had to carefully record and convey correct meanings in their sacred books, and explain the original meanings so that they would not be misconceived in later times when meanings were lost or shifted. More significantly, in the case of conveying the messages in the sacred books inter-regionally from their language group to another, the need to correctly transmit concepts led to a carefully developed skill or science of hermeneutics, to ensure that meanings of the sacred scriptures would be universally held in Christendom.

Faber's hermeneutics were derived from this tradition which was fostered and added to significantly by German scholar theologians at Tübingen and other places where Faber studied. Naturally, because of his mystical pietistic outlook, Faber was in the stream of German mystical hermeneutics who sought to discover hidden mystical meanings and evidences of God's revelation to man in the sacred books of the Bible. Thus the

rational school, which had made a limited impact in Europe, and which sought to avoid using pre-conceptions and the implications of hidden meanings, did not make an impact in China. There were no skilled rational hermeneutics at work there. Translation of the meaning of Western concepts in China was primarily done by missionaries or committed Christians. Consequently counter-Enlightenment ideas rather than those of the Aufklärung were imparted to the Chinese for them to use in their quest for reform. The Chinese were consequently presented with a limited carefully circumscribed representation of the West in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

German intellectuals were especially well equipped, committed and determined to portray and convey at home and abroad a counter-Enlightenment image of Europe. It was strongly indicated by their national literary figures that disunited Germany has been penetrated most effectively and adversely affected by French secular cultural expansion in the ages of reason and revolution. This, it was believed, contributed directly to the attack on church beliefs, traditions and churchmen. Consequently it was in Germany that the counter-Enlightenment was centered to combat the influence of secularism, atheism and rationalism and reason as defined by secularists and rationalists.

At the crucial stage of the development of the literary mission in China, in the first half of the 1880s, Faber experienced difficulties. He and the Rhenish Mission had differences of opinion, including differences about the value of literary work in regard to Christian conversion, and they, therefore, dispensed with each other's services. Out of this

situation, Ernst Buss emerged to found in 1884 the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Association (*Der Allgemeiner evangelisch-protestantischer Missionsverein*) commonly called Berlin II. This society devoted itself solely to literary mission work and concentrated solely on East Asia. Faber became its leading missionary in China from 1885 and thereafter devoted himself fully to his literary missionary work, assuming a significant position in the Shanghai-based Christian Literature Society, led firstly by Williamson and then by Richard.

For the following 14 years, until his death in 1899, Faber applied himself to two general fields of work, as he tested, shaped and tried out in practice, the Graul-Buss method of missionizing and the science of hermeneutics.

Firstly, in accordance with prophetic pietistic belief which has as its basis and counterpart, a deep pessimism, Faber acted as cultural critic, attacking Confucianism and its practice in China. This action was neither unique nor new. Other evangelical missionaries at the time were conducting a similar campaign against traditionalism in China. Moreover, a campaign against Confucians had earlier been one of the integral features of the counter-Enlightenment in Germany and other parts of Europe, when rationalist influence, and praise for Confucius by rationalists was attacked effectively in the drive against "Halbbildung." The positive achievements of this early campaign can be seen in Diderot's encyclopedia, where there is no special entry for Confucius who was previously a valued model for secular rationalists. He is mentioned only in the general article on Chinese philosophy, with the inconclusive comment that his position in China and the world is not clear, and that it is

uncertain if he should be regarded as a Chinese Socrates or a Chinese Anaxagoras.

Faber's contribution was, in the counter-Enlightenment attack on Confucius, to make the position of Confucius in the history of world philosophy clear by using in particular the rules and practices of hermeneutics.

In order to see how he did this, and how he came to the conclusions that Confucius was not a "heathen" but a "primitive" or "less developed" Christian, it is necessary to realize that one of the most crucial points raised and promoted by the counter-Enlightenment forces was the existence of "revelation." This with other religious beliefs and traditions had been a casualty in the Age of Reason, when rationalists opposed not only bishops but also mysticism. This latter attack meant the denunciation of "revelation" which could not be measured nor perceived by the senses.

The discrediting of "revelation" as mysticism had a disconcerting effect on social and political reform theorists and activists at the time. Those of a religious persuasion had tended to justify their political and social theories and actions as being divine and divinely inspired by the Holy Ghost. With the popularization of science, in place of divine inspiration and planning, scientific social and political planning based on "evidence" and "reason" became paramount, with priests being left aside unless they became scientists.

Faber, who was well read and knowledgeable about this subject of revelation, adopted the position of the theologians of the counter-Enlightenment who reinstated "mysticism." He averred that the human mind in fact consisted of three faculties, and not two as the rationalists maintained. That is it was

comprised of a faculty of reason; a faculty of sensation and a faculty for revelation. Thus for Faber and pietists of the counter-Enlightenment, revelation could play a part in the process of cognition and knowledge. That is ideas and thoughts could come into the mind through the soul by the influence of the Holy Ghost as has been indicated above. It was the task of hermeneutics to find out what was revelation by determining meanings and origins of words and statements.

Using this viewpoint, Faber concluded from his Chinese classical researches that Confucius in fact had experienced Christian revelation through the Holy Ghost, but his revelation like the revelations of other pagans was incomplete or imperfect; and as Confucius had not recognized and had not been influenced further by the Holy Ghost, he was a "primitive" or a not fully developed Christian. This led Faber to conclude further that as Confucius had a "less developed mind with one relatively unused faculty and limited spiritual experience, he could not be used to develop China. China needed new leaders with a new spiritual outlook and complete faculties if reconstruction was to be perfect. This was the essential message contained in all of Faber's writings on the classics.

Secondly, in order to better serve China in its quest for "reform" and "modernization," Faber adopted a positive program to produce and distribute works designed to replace Confucianism with a new ideology. Faber's design, like that of other evangelists in China, was to use the science of hermeneutics and other techniques to see that only the views of the counter-Enlightenment about cognition and other matters were presented to the Chinese. Rationalist and

other views were to be kept out or put into Christian perspective by carefully using selected words and phrases to convey the desired meanings of words and statements.

His and other missionaries' efforts in this regard were evidenced in particular in three fields. When educational works about the West were presented to the Chinese, only those which supported counter-Enlightenment sentiments were offered. For example, Buckle's *History of Civilization*, which denied the significance of religion as a civilizing force, was not translated. Instead, the Chinese were offered Benjamin Kidd's less impressive work on civilization, which supported the evangelists' cause and belief that a spiritual unity of the people was essential for modernization and the achievement of civilization.

Besides this Faber and other writers introduced eschatological concepts into history writing in China, to give an increasing value to history conceived as progress. New periodizations and new concepts were introduced, presenting the dynasties in a new chronological framework which accorded with Christian ideas of eschatology.

Also and most significantly, Faber concentrated on the translation of concepts into Chinese using the science of hermeneutics and the art of exegesis. He consequently translated in such a way as to avoid ambiguities where Christian beliefs were at stake, so as to leave only one single impression — a Christian impression — on Chinese minds. This impression was based on counter-Enlightenment beliefs.

This was the most important aspect of Faber's work. His whole mission was based on the belief that in order to construct a new China, it was necessary to

reconstruct the Chinese mind, and that the best way to do this was by the careful use of language. In this way Faber introduced to China a variety of 19th century words and concepts such as "nature" – "cognition" – "revelation" – "prophet" – "perfection" – "salvation" – "evolution" – "progress" – "people" – "oppression" – "revolution" – "nation" – "liberation" – "enlightenment" – to guide Chinese thoughts and help determine China's future course through literature.

The methods and objectives of Faber's hermeneutics, which was a basic feature of his and the Graul-Buss mission techniques, are clearly revealed in the German literary mission handling of the translation of the last named term "enlightenment."

During the period of Faber's mission to China, the term enlightenment had ambiguous meanings, one seemingly secular, the other religious. The secular one obviously had connotations which were dangerous and upsetting for pietists and Christian reform minded missionaries. This source of potential trouble and challenge for Faber and his colleagues was the rationalist meaning of the term which denied the pietistic protestant concept of cognition, their tri-partite theory of man's faculties, and their belief in the existence of divine inspiration through the medium of the Holy Ghost.

In the case of the English word, the problem was dealt with by counter-Enlightenment protestants and anti-rationalists by means of a shift of meaning to portray the process of enlightenment, and the Enlightenment as something it was in fact not, giving it a protestant interpretation. In these circumstances "enlightenment" was made correlative to "inspiration," with the implication that

this could come suddenly, without reason, by means of divine intervention in man's affairs, or by mystical revelation as Locke already had admitted in his theory of cognition of knowledge.

For Germans the situation in regard to the term for enlightenment was more complex, and the solution in regard to translating it into Chinese to promote the protestant counter-Enlightenment view was more simple. Two terms exist in German for enlightenment. *Die Aufklärung* is used primarily for the French Enlightenment which provoked a German protestant-romantic retaliation or counter-Enlightenment. *Erleuchten* (to enlighten) and hence *die Erleuchtung* is used alternatively to describe the enlightenment for example of an individual. Both of these terms were given different translations and separate distinctive meanings in Chinese. For *die Aufklärung*, the German protestant missionaries used *chiao hua* which can connote the rationalist meaning of the term. For *die Erleuchtung*, they alternatively use the term *ling kan* which obviously admits the possibility of the supernatural and irrational processes in the process of enlightenment or having "inspirations." It was this latter term which admits the validity of the tri-partite theory of man's faculties which was used by Faber and the German missionaries in their efforts to reform China along the lines of Christian enlightenment, sealing it off from profane thought and views which could lead Chinese along other non-protestant paths to modernity.

Faber could thus be said to have made an impact of significance in China, by his subtle use of hermeneutics in the field of secular-political thought. He aimed specifically to provide the Chinese with a new political vocabulary and a new

political-intellectual atmosphere to pave the way for a new post-Confucian state which he believed would rise in China.

It is not easy for the historian to assess specifically the nature and extent of his impact in this and other fields. The evidence of the penetration of his ideas, specifically about government; and of his influence is difficult to find and is often lacking for three reasons.

Firstly, in China, Faber chose to act as an "eminence grise." He firmly believed that if he bathed in the limelight, letting himself be promoted as an influential reform guide for the Chinese, then the indigenous reform movement could suffer. He believed success in China could be achieved only if Chinese felt they had become self-enlightened and then used this for self-development. He consequently preferred to offer ideas and beliefs to the Chinese and encourage them to believe they were their own personal or indigenous ideas. The technique he used was an integral part of the Graul-Buss mission method. Those who practiced it did not seek recognition, praise and rewards on earth. They looked forward to receiving these only in the after life. Consequently, Faber was very careful to make no claims about whom he influenced among the literati whom he worked on to convert, in case it upset his mission. The historian is thus left with a difficult task of locating and sifting information about this to make a judgement.

Secondly, this problem is added to by the fact that Faber worked at a time when anti-Christian feeling in China was widespread and intense. Consequently, Chinese reform writers and other literati were reluctant to admit any debt they had to missionaries such as Faber. Such an acknowledgment would not have aided their reform purpose.

Thirdly, in any case, Chinese methods of making acknowledgments to sources used for their literary studies were not of the quality found in the West and thus make it hard to trace influences.

However, a study of the writings of Chinese reformers and others indicates Faber had an influence that is worth further study. A parallel analysis of the text of missionary reform works such as those written by Faber, and of the written works of Chinese reformers shows evidence of distinct Western influence. T'an Ssu-tung was obviously attracted and influenced by the new ideas, as is indicated in his syncretical work *On Humanity* (Jen hsüeh). And although it has been generally claimed that K'ang Yu-wei was uniquely Chinese, sections of his work can be found in almost identical form, in idealistic works written much earlier by Faber. Incidentally, K'ang's title for his utopian book was also the title of the extensively distributed work on civilization by Benjamin Kidd (Ta Tung Shu). His achievements in China also reinforce this. He was, for example, early offered a significant position by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, because of his knowledge and influence. His Christian Diffusion Society was financially supported by Chang and other officials which shows a measure of the respect given to him. Characteristically, he rejected Chang Chih-tung's offer, stating that he had no intention of working for the forces of Satan. In his view the only hope for China was for a new spiritual elite to form a new nation which was what his protestant colleagues were then working for at home in Germany.

Although my study of Faber and his German mission's hermeneutic and other work in late Ch'ing China is not yet complete, some early research findings

and preliminary results can be made for the benefit and use of delegates at this Convention on communications who might be faced by problems similar to Faber's.

Firstly, although the German mission was established in a euphoric atmosphere of technological advances which promised to serve mankind, Faber and his colleagues did not pursue an interest in the direction of technology when seeking ways to communicate thoughts and ideas. They concentrated almost wholly on philology, grammatical research, etymology and other tools used in the science of hermeneutics. Faber believed that only by hard work on language studies could meaning be transmitted clearly between cultures and language groups.

It is apt for us to note this attitude and view, where Faber resisted being attracted by the euphoria surrounding the then new technology of communication. A similar state of excitement is often expressed today by those who are impressed by inventions and developments in the field of electronics and computers. There have been indications given for example, that computers will soon be equipped to make translation. It is neither nice nor wise to dampen desires and hopes about this. But it is doubtful if computers will do more than take the drudgery out of translation work by supplying literal translations which could be devoid of meaning except in the case of purely technical or scientific papers. Conveying complex meanings inter-regionally is a difficult, scholarly human task concerned with ambiguities of meaning, with finding correlative concepts, and with finding equivalents or a lack of them.

Secondly, if advances are to be made in understanding other peoples' concepts,

then concentration must be put on the science of comprehending meaning. Hermeneutics is no longer a fashionable study as it once was — primarily because of its becoming closely identified with special religious groups and outlooks, and because of its increasing confusion with exegesis. But there was growing, in the age of reason, a rational-based science of hermeneutics which could serve modern translators well in their task of grasping and conveying meaning. It could be again thoroughly examined and comprehended with perhaps beneficial results for the problem of translation today.

Thirdly, and correlatively, the manner in which inter-regional communication was fashioned by evangelical Christian missionaries in China in the late Ch'ing reform period, and the limited results this method had because of the desire to convey only approved, sacred Christian knowledge and Christian authorship, reveals that the conveying of conceptual meaning from one culture to another should not be left to one group alone. Individuals and groups with fixed minds, fixed beliefs, firm definitions and single conceptual outlooks, with strong missionary desires exist in the modern world. Leaving the task of translation on computer based or other types of word dictionaries in their hands could result in misconceptions being translated and transmitted to others to be wrongly accepted as true concepts. The conveying of true meanings for concepts can only be the result of hard, scholarly work done by scholarly co-operation accompanied by scholarly discussion in public which could be a good first step taken as a result of this Convention to carefully and scientifically build real foundations for mutual understanding in the Asian-Pacific region.

NOTES

1. The first submarine electric telegraphic cable from London to Paris was opened in London Exhibition year. See Collins, H.M., *From Pigeon Post to Wireless*, London, 1925, for a history of the development of Reuters News Agency. Science's role in helping masses of people to travel and meet was demonstrated at the same time by the introduction of Thomas Cook's package railway tours. See Rae, W. Fraser, *The Business of Travel: A Fifty Years' Record of Progress*, London, 1891, for an account of the rise of Thomas Cook's Travel Service.
An account of the widespread effects of the Industrial Exhibitions held from 1851 is given in Plum, W., *Weltausstellungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg (translated as *World Exhibitions in the Nineteenth Century: Pageants of Social and Cultural Change*), 1977.
2. Marchant, L.R., *British Protestant Christian Evangelists and the 1898 Reform Movement in China*, University of Western Australia, Centre for East Asian Studies, Occasional Paper no. 1, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1975.
3. Evangelists derived this belief from allusions in *The Bible* to a coming Kingdom of God or state of future perfectability on earth. See especially *Mark* 1, 14-15; *1 Corinthians* 15, 23-25; *Revelations* 20. Christian preachers and missionaries who did not accept new theological views on the advent of the Messiah and the prophetic view of a coming future perfect life did not preach sermons on this topic and worked in separate and different ways from the evangelists. Missionary groups in China were often split on this issue and on the correlative issue of getting involved in Chinese politics in order to help China reform to make it more heavenly and perfect.
4. For a fuller description see Marchant, L.R., *British Protestant Christian Evangelists and the 1898 Reform Movement in China*. Nedlands, West Australia, 1975.
5. *Genesis* 11, 1-9.
6. The significance of Christian spiritual beliefs in the development of culture was strongly emphasized by Leopold von Ranke in his *Geschichten der Romanischen und Germanischen Völker, 1494-1535*, Leipzig 1824 and other works. This view was previously professed strongly by German theologians and philosophers. Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibnitz who had an influence on pietistic evangelists, for example, wrote on the part played by God and spirit in the development of unity and harmony. The philosopher-theologian Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher who exerted a similar widespread influence also stressed the role of Christian spiritual influence and the cultivation of religious life as the factor in achieving perfectability. In China this view was presented to the Chinese in the translations of Benjamin Kidd's work on civilization, and by Ernst Faber's writings.
7. Faber, E., "China in Seinen Beziehungen zum Auslande" in *Allgemeine Missions – Zeitschrift* 1879, p. 116 for his view that Christianity will benefit China as much as industrial and scientific developments.
8. The story of the "oppressive" Pharaohs who lacked the ability to make their nation prosper is told in *Exodus* which was used as a basis for missionary sermons on the faults and evils of traditionalism in China.
9. *The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, February 1899, p. 39. Statement by Dr. Ekins.
10. Faber E., *Bericht der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft* 1867, p. 275, for Faber's view on homoeopathic mission work. Faber believed that Chinese would become the general language in the Asian-Pacific region not only because of the migration of Chinese to form settlements in that area, but because of the structure of the language which Faber, as a result of his philological researches, believed to be more internationally useful than European languages because of its phonetic system.

- See Faber, E., *Bericht der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft* no. 4, April 1869, "Das Studium des Chinesischen in Beziehung zur Mission", esp. p. 107 *et seq.*
11. Missionary candidates files in British protestant missionary societies' archives. For a list see Marchant, L.R., *A Guide to the Archives and Records of Protestant Christian Missions from the British Isles to 1795-1914*, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1966. German missionary candidates also favoured China from 1850 as is indicated in candidates applications in their archives.
 12. Financial reports of British protestant missionaries. For a list see Marchant, L.R., *op. cit.* German congregations offered identical support to their China missions as is indicated in German missionary archival series.
 13. Plurr, W., *Weltausstellungen im 19. Jahrhundert*. Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1977, chapter 3. See also Historia. *Tomorrow! The Results and Tendencies of National Exhibitions Deduced from Strict Historic Parallels*. London, 1851, quoted in Plum. This pamphlet, written at the time of the London Exhibition, warns that the peoples on earth will again be divided and confused as a result of divine retribution for holding the Exhibition.
 14. Timothy Richard (李提摩太) of the British Baptist Missionary Society widely professed this view. See e.g. his *The Right Principles of Christian Progress* (求華厄言) and *Prospectus of a Society Aiding China to Fall in with the Right Principles of Christian Progress*, 1897.
 14. Evangelical protestant Christian missionary linguists in China early demonstrated the use of science in the field of revelation. Their studies of etymology, which in the mid nineteenth century was an up and coming fashionable field of study, led them to conclude that some Chinese characters were in fact old Christian symbols. The Chinese character for "to come", *lai* 來 for example was believed to be the sign of the cross with three men. Similar the Chinese word for "ship", *chuan* 船 was seen to be composed of the combined characters for boat, eight and mouths. This was believed to represent Noah's Ark. Such evidences were taken by evangelists to mean firstly that the Christian God had early revealed himself to the Chinese and secondly that such evidence found outside Christendom proved that man originally had one language and a means to communicate universally. For a later presentation of this belief see Hong, S. Gott in China: *Berichte eines chinesischen Christen*. Wuppertal, 1877, esp. p. 14 "Gottes Fingerabdrücke" (God's fingerprints). *oder Rückwärts*. Leipzig, 1845. For an account of his influence. see Krügel, S., *Hundert Jahre Graul-Interpretation*. Berlin, 1965.
 18. *Bericht der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*. *Passim*.
 19. Hua Chih-an, *Ta te kuo hsueh hsiao*. Canton, 1873.
 20. This critique of the Chinese classics from a Chinese point of view was published as *Hua Chih-an. Ching hsueh pu yen ching*. 1896-1898. 花之安, 精學不厭精。
 21. For a succinct account of Faber's views in these regards see Faber, E., "Confucianism" in *The China Mission Handbook: First Issue*. Shanghai, 1896.
 22. See note 17 above.
 23. His viewpoint is expressed in Buss, E., *Die Christliche Mission: ihre Prinzipielle Berechtigung und Praktische Durchführung*. Leiden, 1876.
 24. For the study and rise of hermeneutics see:
 Arigler, A., *Hermeneutica Biblica Generalis*. Vienna, 1813.
 Ches, F.H., *Chrysostom: a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation*. Cambridge, 1887.
 Frankel, Z., *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrische Hermeneutik*. Leipzig, 1851.
 Hirschfeld, H.S., *Der Geist der ersten Schriftauslegungen, oder die hagadische Exegese*. Berlin, 1847.

- Kihn, H., *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete*. Weissenburg, 1866.
- Le Blanc d'Amboine, T.P., *Le Langage Symbolique et le Sens Spirituel des Saintes Ecritures*. Paris, 1878.
- Lesar, J., *Compendium Hermeneuticum*. Labaci, 1891.
- Lutz, J.L.S., *Biblische Hermeneutik*. Pforzheim, 1849.
- Meyer, G.W., *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*. Göttingen, 1796-1850.
- Ranolder, J., *Hermeneuticae Biblicae Generalis Principia Rationalia Christiana*. Fünfkirchen, 1838.
- Reithmayr, F.X., *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Hermeneutik*. Kempten, 1874.
- Rosenmüller, J.G., *Historia interpretationis librorum sacrorum in Ecclesia in Christiana*. Leipzig, 1795-1814.
- Schleiermacher, F.D.E., *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neue Testament*. Berlin, 1838.
- Székel, S., *Hermeneutica Biblica Generalis Secundum Principia Catholica*. Freiburg, 1902.
- Unterkircher, C., *Hermeneutica Biblica Catholica*. Oeniponte, 1846.
- Wette, W.M.L. de, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte und Neue Testament*. Berlin, 1817-1826.
- Wilke, C.G., *Die Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments Systematisch Dargestellt*. Leipzig, 1843.
25. See esp. Faber, E., "Prehistoric China" in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the Year 1889-1890*, pp. 141-219. Shanghai, 1890; Faber, E., "Das Studium des Chinesischen in Beziehung zur Mission" in *Bericht der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*, April 1869.
26. See e.g. the carefully selected list of books translated or specially written for the Christian Literature Society in China listed in the *Annual Reports of the Christian Literature Society*. Works by agnostics, atheists, secular minded rationalists and other non-Christian evangelists were deliberately kept from Chinese intellectuals by evangelical missionary translators.
27. Faber, E., "Correspondence" in the archives of the Ost Asien Mission.
28. Writing about the Confucian literati Faber stated that the missionaries would "have to gag Maulstopfen] these people like the Saviour and his apostles did to the Pharisees and to the Sadducaer and other peoples with [philosophical] systems other than Christianity". Faber had in mind here the textual passages *Matthew* 24.15; *Mark* 7:5-6. See Faber, E., *Bericht der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*, April 1869, p. 101. See also *Bericht der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*, February, 1871, p. 36 for Faber's comparison of the Chinese officials (mandarins) with Pontius Pilate.
29. *Encyclopédie: ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*. Paris, 1765.
30. This view expressed by Faber in his studies of Confucius was succinctly presented by Faber's assistant and successor Paul Kranz in his *Christianity, the Perfection of Confucianism*. (Chiu shih chiao cheng tsuan ju chiao 救世教成全儒教).
31. Faber, E., *China in Historischer Beleuchtung*. 1895.
Die Grundgedanken des Alten Chinesischen Sozialismus oder die Lehre des Philosophen Micius. 1877.
Der Lehrbegriff des Konfuzius. 1872.
Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen sowohl nach der Secte des Pantheismus als des Sensualismus oder die Sämtlichen Werke des Philosophen Licius. 1877.

Quellen zu Konfuzius und dem Konfuzianismus. 1873.

Eine Staatslehre auf ethischer Grundlage oder Lehrbegriff des Chinesischen Philosophen Mencius. 1877.

32. Benjamin Kidd was a British postal clerk who achieved popularity, especially amongst Christian believers, as a result of the publication of his study of civilization and the role played by religion in its development. See Kidd, B., *Social Evolution*, London, 1894. This work was translated into Chinese by Timothy Richard as the *Ta Tung hsueh* (大同學), the nineteenth century missionary term for sociology.
33. The following select list of words indicates some of the terms valued and introduced by missionaries to China in the late Ch'ing period:

Cognition	Das Erkennen	認識力 Jen shih li
Enlightenment	Die Aufklärung Die Erleuchtung	教化，靈感 Chiao hua, Ling kan
Evolution	Die Entwicklung	進化，使進化 Chin hua, sometimes Shih chin hua.
Holy Ghost	Der Heilige Geist	聖靈 Sheng ling
Nation	Das Reich	國家 Kuo chia
Nature	Das Wesen	性 Hsing.
Oppression	Die Unterdrückung	壓被 Ya pei.
People	Das Volk	民 Min.
Perfection Perfectability	Die Vollendung Die Vervollkommnungs- fähigkeit	成全，完成 Cheng ts'uan. Wan cheng.
Progress	Der Fortschritt, die Weiterentwicklung	進步 Chin pu.
Prophet (also used for a priori)	Der Prophet	先知 Hsien chih.
Revelation	Die Offenbarung	天啓 Tien ch'i.

Revolution	Die Revolution	革命 Ke ming.
Salvation Saviour	Die Erlösung Der Heiland	求世，求世主 Chiu shih. Chiu shih chu.

34. T'an Ssu-t'ung, *A Study of Benevolence* 1896-1898. Jen Hsueh. 譚嗣同，仁學。
35. In his work k'ang Yu-wei puts forward some of the ideas early put forward by Faber such as making Chinese into a universal language. Faber concluded from his philological researches, and from his belief in an original basic human language, that Chinese was the future language of the world.

Educational Functions of Mass Media: The Context of Cultural Exchange

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EDUCATION THROUGH MASS MEDIA: A REVIEW OF APPROACHES

There is now a growing body of literature that seems to question the conventional wisdom on educational functions of mass media. It has been argued, for example, that mass communication, as it has actually evolved in concrete historical practices of various nation-societies, has not exactly facilitated, contrary to its original assumptions, free and fair flow of information, rich and substantive diversity of intellectual standpoints, and the emergence of a genuinely cosmopolitan outlook on world and life; instead, it has fostered increasing reliance on synthetic and second-hand knowledge, a crude homogenization of tastes and thoughts, and a certain predisposition to uncritically accept half-truths and prejudgments.

There is much in this harsh indictment of the role of mass media in modern times that merits a close assessment. Such an assessment can be done, in an ascending order of scope and generalization, at the following levels: the inter-personal level at which the effects of massmedia operate through structuring of personality-types; the inter-communal level at which distinct communities and associations of people become vehicles of transmitting group norms and values; and the inter-cultural level where the relevant unit of analysis moves on to encompass the cultural-national self-definitions and self-projections in their totality.

At each of these levels, the processes through which mass media affect, and sometimes even alter, the consciousness and sensibilities of given actors vary, and this variation is generally a function of both the structure and content of messages involved in the media transmission. But

notwithstanding this variation, there is a somewhat monotonous uniformity in which the educational functions of mass media tend to widen the gulf between their original promise and actual performance at each of these levels.

Since this Conference is concerned primarily with the theme of mass communication and cultural exchange, the discussion in this paper would be restricted to the inter-cultural level. It is at this level that a need for a new perspective is felt all the more urgently because the possibilities of using mass media in the service of cultural exchanges seem virtually unlimited, and the educational dividends that such exchanges might yield in the long run, seem immensely attractive to think, plan and evolve a model of media exchanges that would work.

MASS MEDIA AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE: ASSUMPTIONS AND HOPES

The reason why the idea of promoting cultural exchanges through mass communication media has become attractive in recent times is based on a series of positivistic propositions. Since this paper is concerned primarily with the educational dimension, only such propositions which have a distinct educational content would be outlined below.

First, new technological innovations have suddenly opened up new frontiers of international information and it seems possible now, as it never seemed before, to learn from intercultural sharing of developmental experiences. Success stories, however limited in impact and scope, easily deserve a much wider audience base spread over different countries.

It is perhaps unrealistic to speak of total and continuous revolutions in societies but there is enough evidence to suggest that many societies have experienced at different points of their historical experience many mini-revolutions in specific sectors of their social and economic performance. Some societies have demonstrated in recent years their capacity to overcome problems of chronic underdevelopment — Taiwan is only one such example — and while their models of growth may not be exactly replicable everywhere, there is much in their experiences that needs to be diffused further for selective adaptation.

New developments in mass media can in principle promote this process of diffusion and adaptation. Such a process can be even more effectively visualized in specific regional contexts where solutions to developmental problems may often occur in a somewhat identical mix of required inputs. While cultural-political contexts cannot be easily disengaged from the specific facets of developmental experiences, the process of selective learning can be facilitated through cross-cultural sharing of approaches and strategies to social change.

A related reason why the idea of cultural exchanges through mass media has become attractive lies in the new definition of cultural enrichment. It is no longer merely the aural or visual correlates of cultures such as the music and dance forms that answer the quest for cross-cultural sharing; it is a new sense of participation in a common endeavour of building a new world of peace and freedom that seems to presently provide the motive force for bringing cultures together. Suddenly, the national boundaries seem to have become only formal expressions of one's territorial

limits; otherwise, national destinies seem to be somehow inter-linked and inter-dependent.

The role of mass media in this common endeavor is almost self-evident. In theory, effective utilization of mass media can substantially reduce, if not altogether eliminate, causes of inter-cultural misunderstandings, prejudices and hostilities. Contradictions in the international sphere are often functions of perceptions and images that one holds of one's assumed adversaries. It is possible to argue that right information at right time can facilitate progressive rectification of such distortions.

In this context, cultural exchanges through mass media would imply willingness to allow access to information that societies generally withhold in the name of national self-interests. In the long run, national self-interests may be served better by knowing more about other cultures and by allowing others to know more about oneself. While the governments often evolve their own fixed prisms of filtering international reality, people tend to content themselves with fulfillment of their basic human needs. The universality of these needs easily suggests the possibility of transcending narrow national prejudices and pressing mass media into the service of common cultural enrichment.

There is finally a strong case for media exchange in the specific Asian or the Third World context, based strictly on the need to contain and counter the pervasive Western control of mass media. One already hears of threats to national identities of new nations in Asia, swamped as they are by the torrents of West-inspired images of higher lifestyles, often of questionable relevance to national goals and priorities.

In most cases, the historical background of new nations in Asia has produced serious ambivalences about the nature and consequences of their variable Western connections. Often, social change in these societies has occurred through simultaneous processes of acceptance and rejection of the West; often, the notion of synthesizing the best in one's tradition and West's modernity has come as a convenient paradigm to overcome tensions of final choice of developmental models. This has resulted only in delaying the day of reckoning. The West's modernity has already absorbed the nativistic challenge, and native traditions prosper today only in artificially revived cultural frills.

This kind of scenario builds up a strong case for reasserting national identity through a regional model of media exchange. There is much more that needs to be shared in a regional context to outgrow one's dependence on the West. For this, one needs to build institutional structures of mutual goodwill and support, and this can best be achieved by evolving regional models of media exchange.

In another version of this proposition, it has been suggested that the real threat to Asia or the Third World does not come from the West as such because the West is not one single monolithic social reality imposing its will on everyone else. Instead, the West itself is divided, and the threat comes only from that part of the West that stands for closure of all free communication, and is determined to recast the rest of the nations in its own image. This West follows a closed totalitarian ideology of communism and threatens, in alliance with other nations of the same ideological character, to erode sources of freedom and diversity in the world. The need is to meet the challenge of this West, and to forge the widest

possible common platform in order to effectively pursue and promote autonomy and harmony at various levels of collective existence, and to move closer towards actualization of a new world information order.

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER: THE LIMITS OF A PARADIGM

The promise of a new world information order that would usher in an equitable and just communication network, designed to create, sustain and enhance cultural autonomy and diversity is indeed a fascinating exercise in contemporary social science. Few would debate the desirability or indeed the urgent need to attain this order; yet one needs to examine closely some of the premises on which such a paradigm is built.

The essential precondition that seems to have answered the quest for cultural enrichment through media exchange is clearly predicated on the possibility of nations acting out in terms of enlightened interests of human existence and survival. No real model of equitable media exchange can be built up without a belief in a certain altruistic dimension of ruling élites through which they might learn to transcend their narrow nationalistic prejudices. If one wishes to move beyond the notion of merely exchanging cultural artists and artifacts, it is important to attribute to decision-makers a certain consensual internalization of universalistic norms and values.

Yet, the history of the evolution of mass media in different societies hardly provides any basis for such optimism. At every crucial moment in history when the opportunities to arrive at mutually agreed upon codes of information-sharing

seemed close at hand, petty nationalistic prejudices raised their voices of partisan control and manipulation of messages. The international agreements never moved beyond the purely technical partitioning of air and space, only to allow each one unhindered propagation of one's own version of truth. The mass media were used more often to relapse in cultural solipsism rather than to promote cultural exchange.

Even democratic societies prospered on careful governmental control of media. Often, behind the seeming richness and diversity lay monochromatic messages of conformity. The highly selective perception and retention of messages by actual users left little room for growing up together in a cross-cultural setting of sharing and learning from each other.

These nationalistic prejudgements were reinforced by a series of collateral developments that attended the historical evolution of mass media in different societies.

The most important of these developments was to create a false dichotomy between the educational and recreational functions of mass media. This dichotomy was based on a deceptive understanding of man's cognitive processes. It was not sufficiently realized that often the most intense education may occur in the process of what is ostensibly only of recreational value. And the converse is equally true: that is, what is deemed to be transmitted as of educational significance may pass off without any real learning and often without any entertainment value as well.

This dichotomy, however, facilitated cultural exchange of the recreational component in the media which was considered innocuous in terms of national interests, while the educational

component was closely guarded in order to provide standardized modes of social control and socialization. There is no evidence that this strategy has ever worked; in fact, the exact opposite seems to have happened, especially in the case of recipient nations.

What came in the guise of recreation seemed to have become the single most important educator of people's tastes and thoughts. The Western values that many enthusiastic nationalists now decry in their native cultural settings originally came through this process. It was a case of self-inflicted cultural imperialism in which the West played only the role of a benevolent donor. It was the Western mass media which, by their size, force and appeal, homogenized the image of a higher lifestyle that many find wasteful and irrelevant today.

Such one-sided cultural exchange through mass media is not the result of some random historical accident that can be contained now to create a more

equitable information order. Essentially, the idea of exchange is based on the principle of barter which assumes an identical resource base and mutuality of interests. Historically, this has never been the case, and the division of media technology and resources in the contemporary situation does not provide much hope for equitable exchanges now or in the future.

There is no evidence that mass media have so far facilitated genuine cultural exchange; further, there is no evidence that cultural exchange has so far facilitated genuine sharing and learning from each other; and finally, there is no evidence that the Asian-Pacific region has so far facilitated evolution of genuine regional interests and identities.

Yet the search for all this must go on, for on its success depends the promise of a new world, a world of justice, peace and freedom. And I hope this Conference would take the first steps, however modest, for realizing this promise.

The Political, Social and Cultural Background of Mass Communication in Indonesia and Its Perception on Cultural Exchange

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THE PRESENT

Mass communication in Indonesia covers a wide range of activities, where ideas emanating from a center are related, communicated and disseminated to society in all its stratification. Mass communication in its broadest sense is not only exchange of news and views, but also an activity embracing all the transmission and sharing of facts, data and ideas. It creates a common pool of ideas and strengthen the feeling of togetherness as a new nation.

In its narrow sense, mass communication in Indonesia can be called "public relation." Since our Proclamation of Independence in 1945, the Government has established a "Ministry or Department of Information" for all its activities in the field of public relation and mass communication. The basic aim was to arouse

and to consolidate the already existing public support for the independence struggle, and to enlighten the outside world about the independence movement.

Today there are in Indonesia about 65 dailies and 200 weeklies and magazines with a total circulation of 6,276,253 copies. A great number is circulated in the State-capital Jakarta and in other provincial town-capitals. Compared with the 140 million population, our press can only provide 1 publication for 22 people. The ideal UNESCO-standard that for 10 people at least one copy should be available is not achieved yet. But compared with the situation of seven years ago, when the total circulation was around two million copies, there has been a remarkable progress in our press.

Publications are licensed through the Department of Information. General guidelines for the press originate in the

Press-Council, which has the task to assist the Government in the promotion of a free and responsible press. Activities of the Press-Council include advice on such matters as the development of the press generally, the expansion of an active press in the rural areas outside the big cities, the importation of newsprint and the formulation of criteria for journalism, training programs.

All working journalists are members of the Indonesian Journalist Association ("Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia"). This association was founded in 1946 during the revolutionary upheavals, and immediately after the Proclamation of our Independence. Its basic aim was to participate actively in the defence of our newly proclaimed independence, to uphold the freedom of the press and human rights as stipulated in the Constitution, to emphasize the role of the press in our reconstruction efforts, and to improve the quality of Indonesian journalism free from colonial and Japanese influences of the past.

Newspaper enterprises in Indonesia are run on the basis of corporate enterprises. The capital should be entirely national. Press' owners are organized in the Association of Press Proprietors ("Serikat Perusahaan Suratkabar"), also founded in 1946.

There are several Indonesian news-agencies, the largest and the oldest being "ANTARA", which was founded in 1937 by young Indonesian nationalists during the colonial period. It was the nationalist news-agency which countered the Dutch colonial news-agency. Today "ANTARA" has branches in all provincial capitals and correspondents in The Hague, Tokyo and Cairo.

Next to the press, the Department of Information is also responsible for the

development of the other mass-media, such as film, radio and television. There are at the moment more than 1000 cinemas throughout the country. There are 569 radio stations outside the official Government radio-network and Government central television-network. The two radio and television networks have relay-stations in most of the provincial capitals. The number of radio-sets in Indonesia is 25 million; that of TV-sets is about 2.6 million. The UNESCO-standard that every household should have one radio has been met. There is not yet one TV-set for every home.

The utilization of the Satellite Communication System enables the TV-broadcasts from Jakarta to reach all provincial capitals and the surrounding areas, including East Timor. At the same time, the regional local production stations exchange programs with the central station of Jakarta. A change in the pattern of TV-broadcast programs, which are now more oriented to the development of rural areas and national cultural norms, was started a few years ago.

THE PAST

This mass-communication network has grown from the information activities of the Republic 37 years ago. It sprang out from the first "Ministry of Information" of the new-born State and the new-constituted national Government out of the human bondage from Dutch colonialism and Japanese militarism. It functioned originally also as the official "Public Relation," in particular with the outside world.

Like the "public relation" of any financial, economic and trade corporations of these days which have to sell something to the public — that

"something" can be commodities, equipment, services or facilities, but there is always an idea behind — every modern government has to sell also the same basic things to the public, the domestic public as well as to the foreign public.

Without exaggerating or over-simplifying things, there is in our opinion no basic difference between government and private public relations. Both have to do with ideas and images. Maybe there are differences in the emphasis, the stress and the underlining as to what should come first. Maybe government activities lay more stress on the ideal, while private and corporate activities begin with the material. But both have to make sure for themselves first, what are they going to tell the public, to say or to propagate to the public. Secondly, both must know which or what kind of public should be given the first priority as their target to relate to or to communicate to. And thirdly, both must know what kind of means and what sort of language should they use for public relation, communication or propaganda purposes.

The word propaganda has an awful connotation. It smells like "brain-washing." But what are radio- and TV-commercials doing these days, by continuously and constantly "frappez, frappez-toujours" in the mind of consumers by repeating insistently and consistently all the good qualifications of products, services and ideas? Is this not arrogating upon themselves the pretension that they know better how consumers and the public should set up their way-of-life, and use their brain? Without any chance and opportunity to talk back to the TV and radio?

But let me go back to our information and mass-communication activities in the past.

Immediately after our Proclamation of Independence we also "arrogated" upon ourselves the "pretension" that nationalism was better than colonialism, that freedom was better than subjugation, and that democracy was better than fascism and militarism. Actually, it was the returning Dutch colonial administration which labeled our information and propaganda activities as "arrogant pretensions." But for us it was real serious business. It was our belief, our creed. And it was the British historian, *Thomas Carlyle*, who once wrote that: "Belief is great. The history of a nation becomes great, as soon as it believes."

Inspired by this kind of Western ideas, we began to formulate our beliefs in a modern single integrated State-philosophy: *The Pancasila*, the five Pillars or Principles of our State and Nation. They are: The Belief in God, Humanitarianism. Nationalism, Democracy and Social Justice. And we began to fight the Dutch colonial military administration, politically and by guerrilla warfare. We organized our people under this banner of the Pancasila: the way-out of colonialism and the alternative to fascism. The Pancasila is also the source and the basis for our Nation- and Character-building. It is the middle-road between leftist-radical communism and rightist-theocratic Islamism. To all the other ideologies, the Pancasila is for our people and nation a more attractive political and philosophical alternative, firmly rooted in our centuries-old Indonesian culture.

We needed the means of communication to reach our people. We used the spoken words through mikes and radio. We used the written words in pamphlets and newspapers. We used the visualized words through posters and films. We used also the traditional shadow-plays, the

stage, the folk-songs, the village recreation and religious centers, etc. as our mass-communication media too.

We sought the people's support by persuasion: that subtle sweet reasoning directed towards the mind and the intellect, to get the people on the move. Unfortunately, we have to use coercion too: that complex enforcement measures to restrict freedom, to get things done.

We have to use this coercion too, not because we liked it, nor because it was inherent in our paternalistic system, but because we were surrounded by tens of thousands of soldiers of a colonial army. Considerations of security, defence and survival were responsible for the need to use coercion next to persuasion. But on the whole: persuasion was our rule, coercion was the exception. The same rule applies today.

Compared with the activities of the colonial administration in the field of information, mass-persuasion and public relation, ours were more successful; despite the fact that we did not have the modern equipment of radio and prints the Dutch had. This was because the ideas and ideals we fought for were deeply rooted in the people's aspirations.

But it will be wrong to draw the conclusion, that our mass-communication activities did not make mistakes. We made a lot of mistakes and errors, particularly when we abandoned restraint, and went too far in our zeal. Then we tended to over-rate ourselves, and under-rate others. We over-valued the role of ideas, and we under-estimated the function of hard realities. In such situations we did not talk *with* the people, but we talked *to* the people. For the people it became a boring monologue, instead of a fruitful dialogue. The Government did the talking, the people did the listening. Subdued and

polite silence of the people was misjudged as consensus and agreement.

Fortunately, we soon became aware of our mistakes and errors. We began to realize that information in a paternalistic-inclined society with strong remnants of feudalistic attitudes should be more education-oriented. It must have the basic character of mass-education. And when in 1950 we were recognized as an equal in the family of sovereign and free nations, and we moved our capital from Yogyakarta to Jakarta, we declared that:

Information and public relation of the State is identical with mass-education. That the aim of mass-education is the changing of the very mentality of our people. The mentality of the slave must go. In its stead must come the mentality of the self-respecting citizen, of the moral man, aware of his responsibilities and of his place in the history of his people and his country.

In other words we do not want to produce "yes-men," who try to please others, and thereby do not reveal his mind. And we do not want a Government functioning like the "the Big Brother," who says "no" to any suggestion for better alternatives from the people, who pleases himself, and actually has no mind to reveal. Instead we want "a two-way traffic" of information between the public and the government.

This was the situation up till 1957. Unfortunately, parliamentary democracy with her multi-party system failed. It has to make way for the so-called "Guided Democracy." This period was characterized by an uneasy balance between President Sukarno, the Army and a loose combination of political parties. This combination consisted of the Nationalists, Moslems, Catholics, Protestants and

Communists. There was a "guided press," and a state-controlled radio and TV-network.

Whatever might be the deficiencies of Guided Democracy, President Sukarno was able to achieve in 1963 with this uneasy balance two important things. First, we solved the perennial problem of internal security, by eliminating the centers of the Darul-Islam dissident movements in West-Java, Aceh and South-Sulawesi. Second, we liberated West-Irian, as a result of Sukarno's combined effort of military operations short of war, with his diplomatic ruthlessness, resembling brinkmanship.

However, when after 1963 radical wings and Peking-oriented communists in the Guided Democracy system got the upper hand, culminating in the abortive Communist coup d'état on October 1, 1965, the uneasy balance was broken. The system collapsed, seemingly from the weight of its growing internal contradictions and external pressures.

For the official information and mass education activities, the period of Guided Democracy was a hectic one. They had to compete with activities of the radicals and the Communists, who out of political expediency accepted the Pancasila ideology. It was the well-known tactical lip-service attitude. But looking back at that period, it was gratifying to note that the many years of mass education efforts were not in vain. Nationalism and patriotism, based on the Pancasila ideology, were strong enough to resist at the most crucial moments Communists' encroachment on our ideology.

This is the background of mass communication, information and public relation in Indonesia in the past; a story of the role of mass communication in a process of nation-building, with all its

growing pains. The job of building a nation is painful. But more painful could be the job of building the image of a nation. If information in the sense of mass education was internally directed to the goal of nation-building, the job of building the image of a nation was more externally oriented, and given into the hands of public relations sections and press attaches abroad. Their main responsibility was to get the best possible press coverage in and outside the country, to avoid hostile press comments, and to correct misunderstandings. They must have the best contacts with the press world, and they must be able to provide them with the best possible service.

But above all, public relations officials and press attaches should be well-informed about many aspects, if not all, of the government policy. Or better to say: they must keep themselves well informed, so that the press could rely on them for the most accurate information. It is no secret that on many occasions the world press get the latest information, before the press-attaches receive them. Therefore, they must keep themselves informed. This is the first requirement of establishing the integrity of both his government and himself in the eyes of the mass media. In order to get the maximum success, they must master the ability to persuade. After all, together with the whole diplomatic staff of the embassy, they belong to that special class of "diplomatic persuaders." This approach secures a solid and honest exchange of information through mass communication.

During the radical years of 1963-1965, when Indonesia's foreign policy became more and more radical as a result of her increasing distrust of American-British policy in Southeast Asia in general, in Vietnam and in Malaysia in particular,

when Indonesia began to move into Peking's orbit, and when economic conditions became from bad to worse; it was nearly impossible for our public relations men and press attaches abroad to get rid of the label in almost all Western press, that Indonesia was "the mad man and the sick man" of Southeast Asia.

Still we had at that time at our disposal the best capable and able men abroad. But this is the best proof that ill-conceived and ill-received foreign policy could by no means be corrected by the best salesmen of excuses and apologies.

SHIFT SINCE 1965

One of the main characteristics of Indonesia after the abortive Communist coup of 1965 was the shift from "nation-building" towards "economy building." It was more a shift in priority, although there was some change in principle. As a result of this shift in priority, information and public relations activities are more "economy-oriented" than "political." Mass-communication is more diversified.

We embarked upon a mass-campaign to show the bankruptcy of the Communist ideology and the sanctity of the Pancasila ideology in the Indonesian situation and condition. We pulled out from the Peking-orbit and returned to the UN-fold, which we had left a year earlier.

Nowadays we witness the increased activities of the many public relations sections of all the departments in the economic and financial fields. They are now, so to say, in ascendancy. At the same time we witness the decrease of information activities in the political field and in nation-building. This is also the period of the ascendancy of the military, and the decline of the political parties.

All these changes in emphasis in our

mass communication activities were the result of the change in priorities and the change in emphasis of what is considered to be the present keystone of our national interest. On the other hand, this change in priorities has caused new problems. This change is also conditioned by certain limits of continuity. In particular, there is the continued awareness of the government that security of the State and her Pancasila ideology are still on top of the priority list.

In connection with the development efforts and "economy-building" of the government, the "security approach" should be seen in an unbreakable relationship with the "prosperity approach." Both should be in balance. However, this balance required a political stability. The triangle of security, prosperity and stability begins to emerge. There will be no prosperity without stability, and there will be no stability without security. But it can also be argued the other way around. There will be no security without stability, and there will be no stability without prosperity.

The censorship policy of the government should be seen and understood in this line of thinking. Towards the domestic press the government used persuasion. In case of failure, legal action will follow. Closing down, whether temporarily or permanently, is an exception. Vis-à-vis the imported foreign dailies and magazines, inaccurate and provocative news and views about the Indonesian situation, which can have a destabilizing effect, are usually blotted out.

Some people took issue with this policy. But what actually is needed in Indonesia today is a certain degree of stability, because absolute political stability tends to be too conservative, too

static and too repressive to allow flexible changes in a dynamic environment.

The Indonesian society today is really dynamic, especially after we embarked upon the new "open door policy" in 1967. The great influx of foreign technical assistance and foreign capital, the enormous growth of cities like Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan and others, the aggressive expansionism of modern alien cultural and entertainment activities in our society, with all their positive and negative aspects, and, last but not least, the increase of the number of modern mass communications such as cheap transistors, cassettes and TV in traditional village life, all these are functioning as agents of dynamic change. However, they are also sources of resentment and reaction from certain religious quarters. They are also a source of that social-economic phenomenon in every developing country, the so-called: "revolution of rising demands."

If in the long run these rising demands are not sufficiently satisfied, frustration and tension will be the result. The magnitude of this phenomenon could only be discerned as a part of the top of an iceberg.

Mass communication in Indonesia today is not merely the reflection of the whole set of interplay of the forces balancing for security, prosperity and stability. It is also an active factor in creating the preconditions in the mind of the people, to prepare themselves in the present changing situation and the acceleration of that change in the future. The call of the future is for dynamic change and modernization.

In short, mass communication in Indonesia at the beginning of our Independence was conceived as a socio-political instrument in the rebirth of the

nation. Its task was not only dissemination of news and events, but also of views and comments for information and enlightenment. It became an instrument of mass education for our Nation- and Character-building. It developed into a means of socialization of our State-ideology: the Pancasila.

Since the Pancasila is firmly rooted in our cultural heritage, mass communication functions also as a vehicle of cultural renaissance and economic development.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The Indonesian Archipelago was a crossroad of cultures and religions. The 13,677 islands are strewn like a necklace of bright emeralds around the equator, from the mainland of Southeast Asia to Australia. We call our country "Tanah-Air", meaning "Land and Water", thus combining the two elements which decided the destiny of our societies and cultures. Our indigenous culture was enriched by the Indian-Hindu and Islamic cultures. With the arrival of the West, came also the influence of European culture. The encounter between our indigenous culture and the Indian and Islamic cultures was of a peaceful nature. That with the Western culture was more violent, because of the colonial character of the West. Indonesian culture is like a marbled cake. To understand the cultural dynamics of Indonesia one should not disregard the characteristics of the three older layers of Indonesian culture, and those of the contemporary modern culture which is today challenging and influencing them.

There are over 300 different ethnic groups in Indonesia, each with its own cultural identity, and more than 250 distinct languages. Nearly all important

world religions are represented.

Thus: everything in Indonesia is in diversity. Nevertheless there is a basic similarity. Beneath all outward differences, the archipelago shows an unmistakable unity with regard to cultural traits. In general it can be said that Indonesia during her age-old history has responded to the influences of alien cultures from East and West with receptivity, flexibility and at the same time with selectivity. This response has given our society as a whole its greatest strength and durability in facing cultural challenges from the outside world. We rather blend than reject.

This blend of unity in diversity is reflected in the official motto of the Indonesian Republic: "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*," meaning "Unity in Diversity," which has been used since the kingdoms of centuries ago. The motto recognized the fact of cultural heterogeneity. But it aspired for cultural unity within a politically united entity.

Today this political entity is embodied in the Pancasila State. Culturally, the Pancasila ideology is the re-assertion of the Indonesian identity of the past. It is based on traditional realities of the past. But it implies at the same time such modern goals as progress, prosperity, justice, democratic freedoms and peace. Consequently Indonesia was, is and will be always open for cultural exchange with the outside world. Acculturation is welcome. Nevertheless we reject alien cultural values of a decadent nature, which erode our positive traditional values. We reject also cultural subversion. We don't want to be culturally uprooted. Nor do we want to petrify or fossilize ourselves culturally by nurturing obsolete traditional values which hamper progress and evolution.

We want to strike and maintain the right balance between tradition and modernization. After having culturally survived from Western colonialism, we want a cultural revival. This should and could be done through cultural exchange between similar colonized peoples in Asia and Africa by the West.

In this context it is useful to reflect on the Bandung Conference, which provides us new backgrounds and new dimensions in the global problem of cultural exchange.

THE CULTURAL CHAPTER OF BANDUNG

At the Bandung Conference, we considered cultural, social and economic problems, together with political and security problems. We were convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural cooperation. Asia and Africa have been cradles of great religions and civilizations which have enriched other cultures and civilizations while also enriching themselves in the process. Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations.

Unfortunately, contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. In Bandung we were animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew our old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world.' We reiterated our determination to work for closer cultural cooperation.

But we stated very clearly in Bandung that it was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other cultures and civilizations that we viewed the development of

cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, we believed that Asian and African cultural cooperation should be developed in the larger context of world cooperation. Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation, the countries represented at the Bandung Conference desired to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own cultures and would also help the promotion of world peace and understanding.

This was to be achieved through bilateral accords emphasizing the exchange of cultural missions of artists, writers, inter-university exchange of teachers and students, organization of special international seminars and the exchange of books and periodicals. Here we conceived cultural exchange in a somewhat restrictive meaning. We limited the exchange of cultural activities to the fields of art, literature, science and folklore.

In this context we adopted the suggestions in the field of acquisition of knowledge through publications of monographs by governments and other institutions dealing with the cultural aspects of each country; the inclusion of material on history, culture and civilization in the curricula of studies, taking care to ensure that books on Asian and African history are factually correct and emphasize cultural interdependence.

We adopted the suggestions on exchange of information, stressing the indispensability of the role of mass-communication for the promotion of cultural cooperation. We recommended that governments encourage the establishment of new-agencies in their countries and offer necessary facilities for the exchange of news services between such

new-agencies.

We recommended that governments facilitate the entry, movements and accreditation of correspondents, in accordance with the laws and regulations of each country, and encourage the exchange of cultural broadcasts and documentary films on a reciprocal basis.

There was after the years of the Bandung Conference an enthusiastic response to the cultural call. Many conferences were held by writers, students, jurists, religious leaders, cultural groups of Asia-Africa. They felt the barrier of misinformation and ill-information between themselves. They felt the need for direct communication between themselves. They felt that cultural cooperation without communication between all cross-currents of the society is impossible. They felt that communication is a part of culture as much as an influence upon it.

The so-called "cultural invasion" through Western mass-media and the resulting "cultural alienation" were discussed during those conferences. Discussed were also cultural exchanges between the non-Western world of Asia-Africa and the Western world of Europe, America and Australasia. We welcomed mutual cultural exchange, and cultural adaptation on international global scale. Call it: cultural universalization. But we rejected cultural propaganda and cultural subversion, in particular from the West.

The cultural undertone of Bandung was not only restricted to the political field. It was felt also in the realm of economic development.

For us economic development ideas are not "economic-centrism". It should be an economic development consensus on a broader basis with a socio-cultural and politico-cultural undertone. We take our

cultural values into consideration.

In our view, the test for any international economic development is whether it helps towards the liberation of peoples from economic misery and human bondage, be it from inside or from outside. Although economic growth is basic for economic development, the real yardstick for success should be the extent to which it satisfies the socio-cultural and politico-cultural needs. This implies that the goals of development cannot be achieved if the structure of the society is neglected.

Development is structural change, based on traditional cultural values. Development is renewal. Renewal of socio-economic structure, renewal of political systems, but, above all, renewal of the Mind of Man as the source of cultural activities, in which science and technology should be woven into the fabric of our culture, rather than to force culture into the uncertain stream of science and technology.

Bandung realized that the world is moving into the direction of one world, in which East and West meet, and are destined to mingle more and more. Their harmonious association is one of the most urgent problems of this century. How can such an association be effected, unless there is real understanding of each other's cultures and civilizations the world over?

THE THIRD WORLD

Since Bandung, a new world was awakening. The West called it the Third World. West-Europe and America is considered as the First World and the communist East-Europe and Soviet-Union as the Second World.

It is a collective term of French origin: "*le Tiers Monde*," which has an

obvious association with the pre-French Revolution "*tiers état*," often attributed to *Alfred Sauvy*, the French demographer, economist and sociologist. This "*Tiers Monde*" embraces those states, not regarded or not regarding themselves as members of either the developed capitalist or the developed communist worlds.

The term is a result of a political and historical analysis based on the concept of a new branch in the political science, that of "political culture." A political culture seeks to make more explicit and systematic much of the understanding between political behavior and the fundamental cultural values of peoples and nations. Political culture denotes the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which gives order and meaning to a political process, and which provides the underlying cultural values and expressions that govern behavior in the political system.

If politics sometimes involves cooperation, and sometimes competition and conflict, cultural understanding usually strikes an acceptable balance between cooperation and competition. Hence political culture sees Man and his Mind as the source of his political behavior.

The term "political culture" became popular since Bandung, when political scientists tried to analyse the deeper meaning of cultural values in the Asian-African world and the relations with political behavior. This is one of the influences of the Bandung Spirit in the field of political and social sciences.

The Bandung Spirit as a manifestation of a political culture in the middle of the 20th century and after two World Wars, has spread to Belgrade and Havana. It becomes the spiritual basis of the non-aligned movement today. Both Belgrade and Havana are located on the periphery

of the cultural global West, the communist West and the capitalist West. The Bandung Spirit penetrates the fringes of the West. Many of the Latin-American countries joined the Third World. However varied their national outlook and their behavior, nevertheless the Third World of today refers to something real and important in international affairs.

The salient features of the Third World are: opposition to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations; opposition to racism as a means of cultural suppression; peaceful coexistence between states with different political, social and economic systems; the demand for a better deal for Third World countries in the international economic system; the establishment of a new International Economic Order, based on equality and justice; and a non-aligned position vis-à-vis the Cold War.

Since Bandung the West began to realize the limited influence and relativeness of their culture. As Prof. Jan Romein, the co-author and editor of the UNESCO-publication *History of Mankind: Cultural and Scientific Development*, stated in that book:

The West began to understand that more than half of the earth's inhabitants are Asians and Africans, and that Europe and America, for all their present greatness and their long past, are not the only examples and standards of culture.

Obviously, the ideas and ideals of the Third World are very ambitious.

THE NORTH-SOUTH GAP: NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

In the international economic field, for instance, they would like to establish

a new International Economic Order. They see the world divided not only in the controversy between East and West. But they see a new gap emerging between the industrial developed North and the agrarian developing South. This gap continues to widen. A minority possesses the major share of resources and income. Hundreds of millions of people of the developing and underdeveloped South are poor and hungry, while a few rich countries of the developed North engage in large-scale consumption.

The benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community. The developing countries which constitute 70% of the world's population, account for only 30% of the world's income.

It has proved impossible to achieve an even and balanced development of the international community under the existing international economic order. The possessors of raw materials are only marginally involved in industrial production. The international environment has not been particularly favorable to the poor countries of the South. Prices of commodities on which they depend heavily for export earnings have fluctuated downwards. Prices of their imports, especially capital goods and industrial products, have arisen considerably.

According to the *Brandt-Report*, behind the North-South gap lies the fundamental inequality of economic strength. The report went on:

It is not just that the North is so much richer than the South. Over 90% of the world's manufacturing industry is in the North. Most patents and new technology are the property of multinational corporations of the North, which

conduct a large share of world investment and world trade in raw materials and manufactures. Because of this economic power Northern countries dominate the international economic system — its rules and regulations, and its international institutions of trade, money and finance. Some developing countries have swum against this tide, taking the opportunities which exist and overcoming many obstacles; but most of them find the currents too strong for them."

In this context, mass communication can contribute to arouse critical awareness of these problems among the concerned public. It can awaken the conscience of, and sensitize public opinion to, this major problem of the ever-widening gap of North and South.

NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER

But the reality is that many media of the North simply reflect and bolster a self-interested public opinion. Besides that the means of mass communication are concentrated in the highly industrialized countries of the North. As a result there is a serious inadequacy and imbalance in the flow of news. The great majority of countries of the developing and underdeveloped South are reduced to being passive recipients of information, which is disseminated from a few centers in the developed North. Most people of the Third World are forced to see each other, and even themselves, through the medium of these centers. Actually, the present situation perpetuates the colonial era of dependence and domination in the field of information. This dependence and domination confine judgments and decisions on what should be known, and how it should be made known, into the

hands of a few. And this in turn retards the achievement of political and economic growth.

For this reason Indonesia is in favor of letting the world move towards a new more just and more efficient World Information and Communication Order. We endorse the report of the UNESCO-Commission for the study of communication problems, under the chairmanship of the Nobel Prize winner *Sean MacBride*. The report was published under the title: *Many Voices, One World*. One of the recommendations deals with the problem of "strengthening cultural identity." It says:

Promoting conditions for the preservation of the cultural identity of every society is necessary to enable it to enjoy a harmonious and creative inter-relationship with other cultures. It is equally necessary to modify situations in many developed and developing countries which suffer from cultural dominance. We recommend the establishment of national cultural policies, which should foster cultural identity and creativity, and involve the media in these task. Such policies should also contain guidelines for safeguarding national cultural development while promoting knowledge of other cultures. It is in relation to others that each culture enhances its own identity. Communication and cultural policies should ensure that creative artists and various grass-roots groups can make their voices heard through the media.

Today virtually no one disputes the reality of the imbalance in the flow of news and information between the industrialized and developing countries. Roder Tartarian, the former Vice-President of UPI, admitted this. At a Cairo meeting of press representatives in 1978, he said:

There is in fact imbalance in the flow

of news, both in content and volume from the developed to the developing world. It is true that this reflects the disposition of global military, economic and political power. There is an acknowledged tendency among Western media to devote the greatest attention to the Third World in times of disaster, crisis and confrontation.

President Reagan addressing the U.S. House of Representatives some time ago stated:

We recognize the concerns of certain developing countries regarding imbalance in the present international flow of information and ideas. But we believe the way to resolve these concerns does not lie in silencing voices or restricting access to the means of communication, but in encouraging a broad and rich diversity of options.

Obviously, the method advocated by President Reagan is not completely acceptable to most developing countries. Nevertheless these are serious efforts to redress the imbalance in the world's communication flow. What is still not yet reached is the consensus to correct it. There is still the wide gap between the concepts of news between the Third World and the West. The Third World thinks of news in terms of information about agriculture, about education, about health, etc. When the West thinks of news, it thinks of stories about events, about things that happen. For the West information is commodity. For the Third World it is a social necessity.

Mr. Mohammad Nahar, the Deputy General Manager of our Indonesian national new-agency "ANTAR" says recently that developing countries are overloaded with information not of their own making and quite irrelevant to them.

They not only learn too much about developed countries but also learn about themselves through the developed countries. In many occasions they see their own faces reflected from afar, ugly and deformed.

And he went on to say:

The developing societies have totally different requirements of their news media from the prosperous and stable societies. News should not necessarily be conceived merely as a series of distinct events, but should be brought back always to a fundamental process. The argument is not one for good news rather than bad news, but for news in its due context. After all, unpleasant facts don't disappear by being swept under the carpet. News is not just a commodity merely to be bought and sold, but a social good. The problem is how to strike a balance between the commercial aspect and the social aspect.

One way of materialising the idea of a New World Information Order is through strengthening news agencies in the developing countries. The developed world can lend a helping hand with a view to strengthening the infrastructure of these news agencies. But assistance given to them should not lead to increased dependence. On the contrary, it should strengthen their endogenous and autogenous capabilities.

And the Indonesian Minister of Information, Ali Murtopo, addressing the sixth session of the Inter-Governmental Council for the Coordination of Information among Non-aligned Countries in Valletta, Malta, last month, stressed the necessity of linking the formation of the New International Information and Communication Order with the aim of building the New International Economic

Order. It should also promote the cultural aspects of the matter to the effect that each nation has the right and duty to determine its own cultural destiny. Otherwise it will lose any meaning and any relevance to the needs and challenges of our time.

ASEAN REGION

While Indonesia is active in promoting communication and cultural exchange within the Third World and the Non-aligned movement, she is also active in the ASEAN-region, where communication and culture are interlinked with each other.

We established in 1967 an ASEAN-Committee on Culture and Information. It has adopted a basic framework covering five program areas, namely: visual art, performing arts, literary works, Asean studies and communication media. These program areas are being translated into various project activities in the form of exchange of persons and cultural groups; scholarships and fellowships; exhibitions, fairs and festivals; researches, observations and study tours; training lectures, demonstrations and workshops; seminars, symposiums and conferences; comparative studies, data collection, and inventory; production, publication and documentation; awards and recognition, and others.

These programs of the ASEAN-Committee on Culture and Communication, abbreviated as ASEAN-COCI, show that there are available sub-regional institutions in Southeast-Asia which deal with culture and communication, and which could further explore the possibilities of broadening the activities to other

adjacent regions.

It could be useful, that the "ASIAN-PACIFIC CULTURAL CENTER" in Taipei make the initial contacts with the ASEAN-COCI, if this has not yet been done. Indonesia was honored to be elected Chairman of the COCI for 1982 — 1984. Regional cooperation on mass communication, and cultural exchange through mass communication could then be further promoted on a larger and wider scale, in particular between Southeast Asia and the Asian-Pacific region.

According to the latest report of the ASEAN-COCI, the television organizations of the five ASEAN countries expect to start soon a regional TV-news exchange project for which Indonesia has offered the use of the PALAPA-satellite. It is planned that the news editors of the Asean TV-stations will have a daily conference to decide on the events of the day and their TV-coverage for exchange among themselves. It is hoped that in this way Asean TV-audiences will get to know each other better while at the same time the project will help improve the capabilities of TV-news production in the countries concerned.

In the end it is expected that this project of regional cooperation will pave the way for other regions to redress the imbalance in the international flow of information.

In addition, there are Asean non-governmental organizations, such as the Association of Asean Journalists (AAJ), the Asean Publishers' Association, the Federation of Asean Public Relations Organizations (FAPRO), and the informal but highly productive cooperation among Asean news agencies under the Asean News Exchange Network, all of which are active sub-regional organizations.

THE ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

Reflecting on the general theme of the Convention: "Mass Communication and Cultural Exchange in the Asian-Pacific Region," and taking into consideration the political, social and cultural background of our mass communication in Indonesia, permit me to draw your attention to the following.

1. In recent years a group of developing countries in the West-Pacific, north of Southeast-Asia, has emerged as significant exporters of manufactured goods. They join the rank of the "industrialized countries of the West and of the North." These nations have been termed the NICs, the "Newly Industrializing Countries." They are South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong and Singapore. They followed in the footsteps of Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand around the Pacific region.

2. With the exception of Singapore, the ASEAN countries are still in the "developing stage."

3. Thus the global borderline between the developed industrialized North and the dominant agrarian developing South becomes visible in our Asean and Asian-Pacific regions.

4. This is beginning to create the gap in standard of living and technological development between the NICs and the four ASEAN-countries, introducing in its wake the global trend of the "imbalance of flow of information."

5. Since the NICs in general are comparatively small in area, resource-poor and densely populated; while Southeast Asia is short of capital and has abundant natural resources and abundant low-cost labor, economic relations between both groups of countries could develop:

- a. either into an interdependent comple-

mentary one,

- b. or into a controversial economic dependency of Southeast Asia on the NICs.

6. There is a general misgiving in Southeast Asia, that together with the gigantic industrial power of Japan and the USA, and the industrial potentials of the "sleeping, but now already awakened giant on the mainland of China," the NICs will develop an economically exploitative relationship with Southeast Asia. The consequences will be a repetition of the historical scramble for markets, energy resources, raw materials and searoutes in Southeast Asia. This sort of development should be prevented.

7. As has been stated by the National Planning Association in Washington DC, in its study on the emergence of the Newly Industrializing Countries (1981):

It is probably no accident that the four East-Asian NICs are inhabited by ethnic Chinese in three cases, and by people of a closely related culture in the case of South Korea. It may also be noted that the Japanese, stemming from the same larger cultural area, have previously exhibited many of the same qualities as the East Asians following in their path.

8. This same cultural trait has been mentioned by the *Asia 1980 Yearbook* of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* as having the same bearing on the progress and stability of the NICs. *The Asia 1980 Yearbook* mentioned the "Pan-sinic" appeal to these countries, and the "mainstream of the Confucian tradition" as factors which should not be overlooked.

9. Realizing that there are economic and political factors, which were conducive to the creation of the NICs, yet cultural factors of some sort do seem to be

involved in the process of the NICs-evolution. This should compel us to give further attention to efforts for promoting cultural exchange between the Asian-Pacific region and the ASEAN-countries. "Pan-sinic Confucianism" is felt in Southeast Asia as a peaceful, but expansionist economic culture.

10. In promoting cultural exchange in the Asian-Pacific region, including the region of Southeast Asia, through mass communication, due attention should be given to the problems of the global imbalance of flow of information, and the economically expansionist Pan-sinic Confucian culture.

11. Ways and means should be drawn in a conceptual framework to promote the pacific and peaceful encounter of the Pan-sinic Confucian and the Southeast-Asian cultures to bridge the gap between "North and South" in our region, and to redress the imbalance of flow of information, so that the Asian-Pacific region together with the Southeast-Asian region can show the world how the pressing global problem of "North and South" could be solved practically and amicably. However utopian this may sound, and however long and difficult the journey to that goal will be, the first practical and realistic step must be taken.

The Role of Regional Media Exchange In Relation to National Unity in Malaysia

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INTRODUCTION

Newspapers, radio, television, magazines and other communication media transmit many types of messages which affect political orientations. Both day-to-day information about political events and evaluations of these events are transmitted from government to citizen, from group to group, from group to individual, from elite to non-elite through the common media. The mass media is becoming increasingly important as shapers of political orientation. It had become an important mechanism through which societies achieved political integration (Dawson and Prewitt 1969). As a secondary agency of socialization, mass media had played an important role. Malaysia is a plural society which faces the problem of national integration or national unity. Various agencies of socialization have been used as mechanism to achieve this unity. The educational

system for one has a very important and substantial role to play. The mass media constitute another agency of socialization currently being harnessed to achieve the same aim. One of the aims of radio and television in Malaysia is to achieve national unity (Kementerian Penerangan 1980).

On the other hand, media explosion and free flow of information on societies have no doubt threatened cultural values and alienated people from their own culture, customs and life styles. The same media and the same content are reaching millions of people at the same time, setting a common influence on people of different life styles and ideologies. The result is the homogenization of culture, habits, manners, life styles, tastes, preferences, beliefs and opinions all becoming uniform. Malaysia is not free from this "cultural invasion." There has been indiscriminate importation of media content. The young generation today have become audience of the media,

absorbing all that they see and hear. At times this socialization is not conducive to national unity. It will not promote values, norms and orientations necessary for national unity.

The problem that Malaysia faces today is how to promote national unity in spite of the onslaught of this "cultural invasion." Ironically at times this "cultural invasion" is accepted because it is free from "sensitivities" of the Malaysian society. It does not touch on the fragile issue of race relations which is so explosive in the country. In other words, this "invasion" is free from local ethnic issues.

The purpose of this paper is to see the relationship between mass media and national unity and how it can play its role. The paper also suggests a number of steps that can be taken to reduce the Western "cultural invasion." It proposes more regional co-operation in mass media communications.

MASS MEDIA IN MALAYSIA

To set mass media in Malaysia in perspective, it is important to remember the plurality of the Malaysian society. The three main racial groups (Malays, Chinese and Indians) practise different religions, speak different languages and have different habits and traditions in matters of food, dress and custom. These racial groups are concentrated at different geographical locations, making some areas more identified with one racial group than the other. It is not difficult to find further sub-divisions by family, place of origin, by mother tongue language and dialect and culture within each racial group. These differences played a significant role in determining government policy towards various aspect of life in the

country. Policy makers in Malaysia recognise this complex problem.

The *Rukunegara* or national ideology and the New Economic Policy (NEP) can be seen as goals or objectives set to manage complexities mentioned earlier. The *Rukunegara* encompassed five common values or beliefs, thought to be the distillation of the shared values of the different races which make up the Malaysian population. These are belief in God, loyalty to king and country, upholding the constitution, rule of law, good behavior and morality. The New Economic Policy basically has two objectives. One is to restructure society or redistribute opportunities among the racial groups and between occupations so that racial group would not be identified by economic well-being or occupation. The other objective is the eradication of poverty among all racial groups. All government policies in the country are geared towards achieving these objectives. It is believed that these objectives could bring about national unity in the country.

Mass media in Malaysia are run by the government and at the same time there is a private enterprise system with varying degrees of control applying to the sector which is nationally *laissez faire*. Radio, television and mobile unit film shows are government operated; wired broadcasting, commercial cinema and most of the press are run by free enterprises. Among the free enterprise systems, commercial cinema has historically been without control. It operates as a medium of entertainment without a specific requirement to serve national goals. Wired broadcasting and the press operate between the controlled and free enterprise extremes of the government systems, represented by radio, television and mobile unit film shows on the one hand

and the *laissez-faire* of commercial cinema on the other.

Newspapers in Malaysia follow ethnic patterns. There are about 662,000 readers in Bahasa Malaysia, 566,000 in English, 286,000 in Chinese, 14,300 in Tamil and 11,000 in Punjabi (Laporan Ekonomi 1980). At present there are 60 newspapers in Malaysia, out of which 11 are published in Malay, 15 in English, 29 in Chinese, 4 in Tamil and 1 in Punjabi. It was estimated that in 1980, 51.3% out of 7.4 million adults have access to local newspapers. The total readership comprises of 50% Chinese, 40% Malays and 10% Indians.

Radio and Television are wholly controlled by the Government. Radio Malaysia transmits four networks known as National, Blue, Green and Red with a total of 462 hours per week (including 14 hours for aborigines). Besides, there are two other networks (Ibukota and RM Stereo) with a total of 120 hours. The Voice of Malaysia transmits in 8 languages for 161 hours per week. It was estimated there were 5.8 million listeners in 1980. Listeners in rural areas make up 66% of total radio listeners since radio is their major source of entertainment and information (Laporan Ekonomi 1980).

Television Malaysia has three channels. National and Network One is for locally made programs and imported syndicated films with subtitles in national language. Network Two is for locally made programs and imported films not in national language. Languages used are Chinese, Tamil and English. Network Three is for Sabah and Sarawak. It was estimated that 90% of the adult population have access to television. (Kementerian Penerangan 1980). Radio and Television in Malaysia have five functions as stated by the Ministry of Information:

a) To explain in depth and with the widest possible coverages the policies and programs of the government in order to ensure maximum understanding by the public;

b) to stimulate public interest and opinion in order to achieve changes in line with the policy of the government;

c) to assist in promoting civic consciousness and fostering the development of Malaysian art and culture;

d) to provide suitable elements of popular education, general information and entertainment;

e) to assist in promoting national unity with the use of Bahasa Malaysia and to formulate one national culture among the multi-ethnic population.

There is no national communication policy in Malaysia. But if one is drawn up, the aims would not diverge from the above objectives. On the whole, the policy will be geared towards the effort of national development and towards promoting national unity.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS DISPARITIES

Communication has all too frequently become an exchange between unequal partners, those who are more powerful, richer and better equipped dominate the flow of communication. As a result, there are inequalities, disparities and imbalances in international communication always in favor of the industrialised countries. The free flow of information between these centers has developed into a "one-way flow" from the developed to the developing countries. It is becoming apparent to many nations that free flow of information, much like free trade in earlier time, strengthens the strong and submerges the weak. In the case of

information, the powerful communication states overwhelm the less developed countries with their information and cultural messages.

As a developing country, Malaysia also faces this problem. Malaysian society is very open to external influences. It maintains such an active network of external transactions, information flows

and personal contacts that they constitute an important total influence in its public affairs. Mass media in Malaysia, be it newspaper, radio or television, have extensive foreign news items and programs. As Table I indicates, newspapers carry the most foreign items followed by television and radio.

Table I: Amount of Foreign News By Medium
(number of items, column centimeters and seconds).

<u>MEDIUM</u>	<u>Editorial Space xxx</u>	<u>Foreign News</u>	<u>Percentage Foreign</u>	<u>Number of Foreign Stories</u>
Newspaper ^x	190,219	48,827	25.7	1337
Radio News ^{xx}	32,400	13,072	40.3	270
Television ^{xx} News	46,000	19,456	41.6	433
Total	264,419	81,355	30.8	2040

x only 4 major newspapers in Bahasa Malaysia, English, Chinese & Tamil

xx news in Bahasa Malaysia, English, Chinese & Tamil

xxx items, column centimeters and seconds

(a) Newspapers

There are numerous problems faced by print media (newspapers) in the developing world. There has been imbalances in communication structure between various countries in the world, especially between developed and developing countries. The developing countries depend a great deal on the developed countries for their information and news. Even news and information about developing countries are being

transmitted via developed countries. Malaysia cannot be said to be any different in this respect.

Most of the foreign news are obtained by foreign media agencies, namely, the "big four" — Reuters, United Press International, Associated Press and Agence France Presse. Table II shows that over 30% of items were supplied by Reuters. It also contributed the maximum number of stories from all regions — North America (33%), Latin America (60%), Africa (44.3%), Eastern Europe (57.1%)

Table II
Source of News by Region
(Newspaper only)

SOURCE		North America	Latin America	Africa	Middle East	Asia	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Other	Total
Home country	N	0	0	0	1	39	0	11	1	52
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	4.8	0.0	7.9	3.8	3.9
Reuters	N	36	12	31	65	171	16	61	8	400
	%	33.0	60.0	44.3	48.5	21.1	57.1	43.6	30.8	29.9
UPI	N	20	1	14	25	62	2	15	2	141
	%	18.3	5.0	20.0	18.7	7.7	7.1	10.7	7.7	10.5
AP	N	24	1	7	17	33	2	18	0	102
	%	22.0	5.0	10.0	12.7	4.1	7.1	12.9	0.0	7.6
AFP	N	3	0	9	7	57	1	5	3	85
	%	2.8	0.0	12.9	5.2	7.0	3.6	3.6	11.5	6.4
Tass	N	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.1
Other Agency	N	4	2	3	4	31	2	4	1	51
	%	3.7	10.0	4.3	3.0	3.8	7.1	2.9	3.8	3.8
Own Correspondent	N	4	0	1	1	283	0	8	1	304
	%	3.7	0.0	1.4	5.2	34.9	0.0	5.7	3.8	22.7
Other Medium – Home	N	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Other Medium – Foreign	N	9	0	1	3	11	1	3	0	28
	%	8.3	0.0	1.4	2.2	1.4	3.6	2.1	0.0	3.3
Other Source	N	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	8
	%	0.9	5.0	1.4	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Unidentifiable	N	11	3	9	15	146	5	21	9	210
	%	10.1	15.0	12.9	11.2	18.0	17.9	15.0	34.6	11.3

Source: Bhatia (1980)

and Western Europe (43.6%)

Foreign news items that were widely reported concerned mostly about diplomatic and political relations between states (18.5%), followed by politics within

states (15.9%), economic matters (15.8%), military and defense (11.7%), and so on. So from here we can see that political news is the most widely reported. (See Table III)

Table III
Main Topic of Foreign News in Newspapers

Topic	Number and percentage	Topic	Number and percentage
Diplomatic/Political activities between states	207 15.5%	Cultural, Arts	23 1.7%
Politics between states	261 19.5%	Scientific, Technical	38 2.8%
Military and defense	170 12.7%	Sports, Entertainment, etc	1 0.1%
Economic Matters	172 12.9%	Personalities (not politicians)	19 1.4%
		Human Interest	74 5.5%
International Aid	35 2.6%	Natural Disasters	31 2.3%
Social Services	74 5.5%	Others	92 6.8%
Crime, Police, etc	113 8.5%		
		Total	1337 100
			=====

Source: Bhatia (1980)

(b) Television

Most television programs in international circulation were originally made to satisfy the tastes of audiences in the country where they were produced and

first marketed. They were then adapted for worldwide commercial distribution or cultural distribution. In Malaysia 55% of the television programs originated from overseas while only 45% are locally produced. It is the aim of the government

to produce 60% of the programs locally and 40% to be imported from overseas. In 1980, the allocation of time between the various programs are seen in Table

IV. Almost 60% of the time for Channel I and 50% of Channel II are allotted to entertainment and drama.

Table IV
Weekly Radio and Television Programs 1980
(% of Broadcast Time)

Program	Television		National	Radio		
	Channel 1	Channel 2		Blue	Green	Red
Information & Education	10.00	29.9	14.9	21.1	16.6	14.9
Entertainment	21.9	7.9	55.3	52.8	41.5	57.7
News	11.9	23.9	8.3	13.7	19.8	14.0
Religions	10.2	9.7	8.8	2.1	0.8	3.9
Drama	38.0	26.3	5.8	2.4	7.1	4.8
Sports	2.9	0.8	1.4	2.9	2.6	2.7
Others	5.1	1.5	5.5	5.5	11.6	2.0

Source: Kementerian Penerangan (1982)

Most of the foreign programs are in the entertainment and drama category. Most of the foreign films come from America, a few from Britain, while Australia, West Germany and Japan have no regular programs.

MASS MEDIA AND THE PROBLEM OF UNITY

Mass media in Malaysia, especially government media, are expected to play their role in national unity. On the other hand, audience perception towards mass media may not coincide with government aims. The public regards mass media more for the purpose of entertainment rather than as an instrument of nation-

building. Thus from the beginning, mass media face an uphill battle in the objective of achieving national unity. Besides audience perception, government mass media have difficulty in achieving the target of 60% for locally produced programs. Two major problems are finance and expertise. Because of the lack of funds it cannot buy the necessary equipment required for good technical production. It also cannot attract enough good writers to prepare scripts for local productions. Under these circumstances, the television cannot produce the programs it wanted.

At the same time, Television Malaysia has certain rules to follow. It has guidelines to indicate what's a sensitive

program and what's not. "Sensitivities" must be shown in racial matters. The same applies to religious objections. To be sensitive can also mean to be alert to the need for all programs to conform to and to be consistent with government policies. It encompasses the need to depoliticise controversial issues and not to arouse or reinforce or be a model for pressures against government. Thus considerable effort is exercised to see that programs do not offend any of the religious or racial groups in the country. Scene incongruent to Malay customs or Islamic religion are also vetted. Lowe and Kamin (1982) gave a number of examples how Television Malaysia handled these "sensitivities."

Newspapers in Malaysia have an intrinsic role of educating, motivating and unifying Malaysians into a consolidated whole. To some extent the press performs this role with some success. On the other hand, there is still a strong orientation towards racial indication in its content and coverage in the vernacular press. There "unity messages" may not have been given too much prominence. However, the media are aware of what "not to print" or report so as not to impinge on certain sensitivities.

It is difficult to gauge the success of the mass media in Malaysia as an agency of political socialization. On one hand, mass media are looked upon as an important agency of political socialization, but on the other they handicapped due to certain limitations. As an agency of socialization they have to thread along a thin line. Messages of national unity cannot be overtly presented since they could have just the opposite effect. At the same time, they have to be very discriminating in their presentation so as not to touch on sensitivities of race, religion,

custom and way of life. Under such circumstances we cannot expect a great impact from mass media.

The situation is further aggravated by the widespread showing of foreign programs. Even though some Western values which are considered anathema are edited out, the widespread showing of Western films does result in the implantation of Western tastes and values. In spite of these considerations, Western films are shown because of the shortage of local programs and also they serve a special function. Western films do not have to conform to sensitivities over racial politics. Thus they offer themselves as a buffer from the audience's heightened sensitivity about local politics.

REGIONAL COOPERATION AS A SOLUTION

Television in Malaysia is not self-sufficient in the sense that it has to depend on foreign programs to fill in some of time slot and by doing so run the risk of implanting Western values and norms not conducive to nation-building. Thus, television in Malaysia has to look to other non-Western sources to replace the steady supply of foreign films that are being shown at present. This means that more films from Asia and the Pacific region have to be imported. This coincides with the government "Look East" policy. More programs from Japan and Korea will be shown in Malaysia. At the same time more programs from ASEAN countries will be transmitted to audience in Malaysia. It is a government policy to reduce foreign films to about 40% to the total screening time on Television Malaysia. The government must now stipulate the percentage of Western films as compared to films from

the Asia-Pacific region, for example, 20%-20%.

Cooperation between these countries in producing and making programs for mutual benefit must start as soon as possible. There should be collective self-reliance in making programs among countries of the Asian-Pacific region. Programs from this area will be suitable for Malaysia in a number of ways. It has closer cultural affinity in the sense that values and traditions are similar in a number of ways. It also, serves to reduce Western cultural invasion into the country while at that same time it can serve the same function as Western programs by being a buffer from the audience's heightened sensitivity about local politics.

Such steps have been taken in the other media. There should be a strengthening of regional multinational media projects. Priority should be given to regional and sub-regional institutions. Such priority is in line with the strategy of collective self-reliance. A number of these organizations exist at present e.g. ANN-Asian News Network, ABU-Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union. In fact many such institutions exist in other parts of the world e.g. CANA, AMEFO, ASBU.

Regional and sub-regional training centers should also be given priority. This would not only encourage transnational information exchange, but will also result in a kind of network of personal and professional relations. AMIC (Asian Mass Communications Research and Information Center) is such an institution.

Cooperation made through regional and sub-regional institutions could result in horizontal information exchange between these Asian-Pacific regions and avoid detours through the metropolis of the industrial countries. This would be in line with the suggestion of the Tunis

Declaration of forming a New World Information Order (NWIO).

CONCLUSION

As an agency of political socialization, mass media have a role to play in the Malaysian polity. They have to disseminate values, norms and orientation conducive to national unity. These messages are easily being transmitted by the electronic media since they are fully controlled by the government. Programs can be made to suit the above purpose. Nevertheless, the receiver of these messages will not necessarily perceive these messages as they are intended to be. This is the challenge that the government controlled mass media have to face. An explicitly presented message could even have just the opposite impact. It is more difficult with print media. They are privately owned with limited government control. Furthermore, there are newspapers in various languages. These newspapers are not "national" in the sense that they only serve their respective ethnic community rather than the country as a whole. Under such circumstances, the newspapers tend to be more ethnically oriented. As a result "unity messages" may not be as effective.

At present there are only 45% local programs on television, while the rest of the programs mostly come from the West. In spite of censorship and vetting, there is no doubt that these programs will inculcate Western values and orientations which are not suitable for national needs, especially those related to national unity. At the same time, they also serve as an outlet to local sensitivities.

It is proposed that a more effective way whereby television could play its role is to reduce the transmission of

Western originated programs and replace them with regional and sub-regional programs. Such programs can serve the same function and at the same time reduce Western cultural invasion. In order to produce such programs there should be more regional and sub-regional cooperation in terms of information flow, training

of personnel, research and other related projects. This is one of the ways by which countries in this region can reduce the disequilibrium favoring the more industrialised nations. Collective self-reliance is a step in decolonization of information and the initiation of a new world information order.

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The Role of Cultural Understanding as a Prelude to Successful Mass Communication

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To put forward any proposition dedicated to the advancement of Asian-Pacific cultures and their universal appreciation presupposes a thorough understanding of (ideally) both Asian and Pacific affairs, or at least an intimate knowledge of one or the other on the part of the proposer. In this paper I am directing my comments towards those who would seek the cooperation of the Pacific Island communities in this endeavor. Though both Australia and New Zealand must fall within the orbit of this discussion, my own remarks are concerned with the indigenous Pacific inhabitants rather than with those of European or Asian stock. I must also add that what knowledge I have is based largely on my association with the Polynesian peoples.

My most emphatic point is that I know there is no way of appreciating or understanding the present cultural attributes of any people without a knowledge of its origins and development. In the case of the Pacific peoples, our association with them (in terms of

world history) has been of such brevity that we have barely scratched the surface in our quest for knowledge. To compound the problem, that same brief period has been filled with such devastating events that sometimes a whole new way of life was the outcome for some of its inhabitants.

These factors are in a very large measure the reason for our limited knowledge and this, coupled with the vast distances involved in Pacific intercourse has made the piecing together of a realistic and accurate picture a difficult task.

There have been many dedicated professionals who have devoted a lifetime to studying most aspects of Pacific culture and have provided superb material. All too frequently, however, it is locked up in heavy volumes or scholarly journals and available (or perhaps appreciated) only by the enthusiast. On the other hand, writers of note and a century of journalists, because of the economics of their calling, have often been obliged to elevate to a superior position those elements in a culture which have appeal to

their reading public and may totally ignore the most prized cultural aspects of those being written about. In this respect there could be no greater example than the disparity which exists between reality and the fiction of Tahiti. C. Hartley Grattan in his discussion of the Southwest Pacific comments on this and says: "By some whim of the gods many of those attracted [to Tahiti] were brain-exploiting writers who insisted on inflicting their stories on the Western reading public in selectively composed, enticingly illustrated books that contributed a very great deal to keeping the old legend virile."

For this very reason a specialized and joint news agency dedicated to the dissemination of material which recognizes the values set by Asian and Pacific peoples themselves would not only be of tremendous value to the peoples concerned but of immense interest to the world in general.

Such an enterprise would, of course, (barring total sponsorship) demand economic considerations but a capable team would surely not find the dispatch of current news and skilled feature material incompatible. The major requirements of such a group would seem to me to be dedication, a fundamental knowledge of Asian or Pacific peoples and their culture and a total freedom from political pressure.

My own experience in many parts of the world has been of a new and vigorous awareness of the Asian-Pacific region and a growing demand for information. The development of mass communication methods surely opens up wonderful opportunities for us to fill the need for informative and imaginative programming and put into operation, as it were, an Asian-Pacific public relations exercise.

From my own point of view it is

exciting to be participating in a forum in Asia. To anyone interested in Pacific cultures this must be so, for it is to Asia we need first turn in order to understand anything of the Pacific peoples, their eventual great migrations and the ultimate development of a vast field of fascinating and diverse cultures.

There is, in fact, more than just the beginnings of a great migration from the Asian area for it is considered by some to be the very source of mankind.

COMMON ORIGINS

Eugene Dubois, a Dutch professor of anatomy, believed that the earliest ancestors of man might be found either in Africa or the Indo-Malaya area. In order to search for the evidence he needed he obtained an appointment as a surgeon in the Royal Dutch Army and sailed for Padang, Sumatra in 1887. In the early 1890s he made several finds near Trinil in Java that have since been acknowledged as some of the earliest human remains ever found.

Some thirty-odd years later another find was made which added yet a further page to the growing documentation of early man. This time it was further north, in China, not far from the great city of Peking. Here, at Choukoutien in 1929 a cave was revealed which brought to light remains of the now famous "Peking Man," assigned by archaeologists of the time to a period of something like 350,000 years ago.

In 1933 another cave was discovered only a few feet from that in which "Peking Man" had been found. This time it contained the remains of seven individuals, all of whom had met a violent death. Remarkably enough, though adjacent to the first cave, it was separated from the

1929 discovery by a period of perhaps 250,000 years. These people had lived there and died about 100,000 years ago.

The leader of the expedition, Dr. Franz Weidenreich and his fellow anthropologists set about classifying these finds with great enthusiasm and after exhaustive studies announced that among the remains of these seven individuals there were skulls which showed typical traits of a European, a Melanesian and an Eskimo.

On this basis Weidenreich ventured the opinion that the main groups of racial characteristics we know so well today might have already been apparent during the remote stage of evolution reached by the Peking Man and the Java Man.

The sustained work of archaeologists is almost daily producing facts that demand a reappraisal of many long accepted beliefs. Armed with new dating techniques and much more sophisticated equipment they are pushing the emergence of man back further and further.

In May 1965 teeth were discovered near the town of Yuanmou in Yunnan Province in China which proved of great significance to the world of archaeology. Classified as belonging to a very early form of man, of which "Peking Man" is an example, they have been dated (by a method involving the earth's magnetic field) to a period of more than a million and a half years ago. Discovered in the same deposit were stone tools shaped by concussion, burned bones, charcoal and a wide variety of fossil mammals.

Such exciting discoveries seem to make the Peking Man and the Java Man comparative newcomers to the scene and perhaps lend weight to the belief that Asia might well have been man's place of origin.

Whether in fact these early ancestors were the progenitors of the Pacific peoples we cannot be sure but the chances are that they at least contributed something to the present stock.

We can, however, assume that by perhaps 50,000 B.C., there was a population spread throughout the Indo-Malaya and Southeast Asian areas representing the same diversity of types we know today. Moreover, all the remains of man from this and subsequent periods are identified with man as he is today, *homo sapien*.

There is good evidence that people had penetrated into Australia as much as 40,000 years ago and fourteen thousand years later had settled the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Notwithstanding the lowered sea levels of the time (due to the glacial period) the movement from the islands of Southeast Asia and Indonesia to Australia could only have been accomplished with an advance in technology. This was the development and use of some type of water craft to get across the open stretches of water that still remained. Further development of this same technology would be largely responsible for the future migrations eastward into the Pacific but this would not take place for some thousands of years yet.

In the meantime the islands of Indonesia, Southeast Asia, Borneo and many others were occupied. Other groups travelled as far west as Madagascar and probably as far east as the eastern parts of Papua New Guinea and the adjacent islands, perhaps even the Bismark Archipelago and the Solomon group. This was probably the extent of Pacific settlement between 4,000 and 6,000 years ago and is the setting from which the final migrations to Polynesia and Micronesia

took place.

There is a gap in the information that only future archaeology will fill but certainly by 1,200 B.C., these people had arrived in Tonga and by 1,000 B.C., in Samoa. It is reasonable to assume that the intervening islands that we refer to as Melanesia were colonised during the 2,500 years before their arrival in Tonga.

Probably by the time of the birth of Christ, the islands to the east, such as the Society Islands and the Marquesas had been settled and by A.D. 500 Easter Island had been discovered and occupied. By the end of the 7th century Hawaii had received its first settlers and it is safe to say that before another 100 years had passed the Polynesians had arrived in New Zealand.

It was with the Pacific journeys of Captain James Cook that attention was drawn in a major way to the differences between peoples and cultures in various parts of that ocean. It was the young naturalist George Forster who accompanied Cook on his second voyage of 1772-75 and collected so much of the valuable information. Forster, apart from his botanical specimens collected a series of basic vocabularies in many parts of Polynesia and Melanesia. This work was the earliest on which the present classification of the Austronesian language family is based. Forster noted, too, the obvious physical differences between the Polynesians and Melanesians. He was discerning enough to recognize that the Polynesians spoke a language related to the Malays but erred when he decided that the Melanesians spoke a language unrelated to any other, for the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia are indeed related. However, it is a tribute to Forster that he was astute enough to recognize other relationships that have since been

substantiated by science.

It is with the language that much of the Pacific migrational evidence rests. It would be futile to suggest that within the scope of a paper such as this all the various arguments or intricacies of such a study could be brought forward. However, the languages of the Pacific can be broadly classified and considered as good evidence for a Melanesian-Polynesian, west to east migration. Perhaps a point of interest lies in the fact that it is spoken by more than 100,000,000 people and over a wider area than any other language on earth.

To begin with, there are some 500 languages within the Austronesian family of languages spread throughout the islands of Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia and coastal areas of Papua New Guinea. In addition, it includes the indigenous languages of Taiwan, Borneo, Philippines, Celebes and Indonesia in Island Southeast Asia; and the Malayan and Cham languages of the mainland Southeast Asian itself Madagascar, so far away to the west, also provides a pocket having the same language family.

The languages seem to be split into two main sections, some 300 of them forming a group in the central Pacific and another 200 spread throughout the Island Southeast Asian area and some parts of the mainland. In every area these languages can be broken down into smaller sub-groups and these too into differing and even smaller segments. Experts see clearly the changes and spread of this Austronesian family and can follow the development of a distinctive dialect in each island or island group. As a small example of this, we may note that the Society Islands seem to have been the source of the language spoken by the Maori of New Zealand, the people of the

Tuamotu group, Rarotonga and Hawaii as well as the Societys themselves.

Not the least interesting aspect of these Pacific peoples is their own physical type and no finality has yet been reached on the point of origin of its development. There are anthropologists who believe that Polynesians were, in fact, of a distinctive type before they left their original homeland in Southeast Asia. These experts claim that the Polynesians were predominantly of Caucasoid descent with Mongoloid and Negroid groups adding small elements to the final type.

These people, who were hunter-gatherers, were gradually subjected to pressure from the north as the Chinese empire began to swell and by degrees they moved south to the coastal regions. Then the pressure was felt even here and so, probably over a period of centuries they moved further south and then east into the Pacific world. There would, of course, be no dramatic migration eastwards but rather a series of short movements along coastlines or between visible islands and probably undertaken by small groups or even families. Nevertheless, eventually, as their technology improved and their knowledge of sailing increased they were able to undertake longer journeys involving more people. This in some measure supports a Micronesian rather than Melanesian route into Polynesia. The argument is that the already settled Melanesian people would have absorbed or changed dramatically the Polynesians during any protracted journey through Melanesia.

On the other hand, much of the evidence now available is believed by some experts to show that there were no distinctive Polynesian language, cultural or physical features apparent during the period of migrations between Southeast

Asia and the Tonga-Samoa area. They believe that it was within Polynesia itself that the basic forms of their language, culture and even their physical type developed.

This is perhaps a convenient point to offer a summary and conclusion.

Human occupation of the areas we think of as Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia was by a people of Southeast Asian origin. The movement began perhaps as much as 50,000 years ago and during the following 45,000 years resulted in the occupation of Australia, Tasmania and Papua New Guinea which at some periods were joined to form a single continent. The rising sea levels eventually isolated the people into separate groups allowing them to develop distinct cultural assemblages. Then, between 4,000 and 6,000 years ago the first great move eastward was made probably from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. This may well have been undertaken by a newer group of people from the Indonesian and Southeast Asian areas who, dislodged from their ancient homeland, moved into Melanesia, found it occupied and travelled further east as mentioned to Fiji. It may be that the movement of these people into Melanesia strained the resources there bringing about a migration east by the Melanesians themselves. Whatever the case, we can be confident that they had reached Tonga some 3,500 years ago and Samoa some 500 years after that. Here it was, in these two islands that the people became the first true Polynesians and are recognizable as such from the archaeological record and other studies.

The epic ocean migrations that are so well associated with the Polynesians began at this period and at least by the second century B.C., they had occupied all the main islands in the central and south

Pacific as far east as the Marquesas. Tremendous voyages still remained before the Pacific was fully explored but within the next thousand years every habitable spot in this vast expanse had at least been visited.

THE NEW ARRIVALS

If at this stage the Pacific peoples had settled in their ultimate homelands their isolation was to be (in the scheme of things) short-lived. Before a thousand years had passed, European ships had stumbled upon what appeared to be to their crews earthly paradises.

That it should appear thus is not surprising. One could hardly imagine it appearing otherwise to any seafarer of the time. To arrive at such unbelievably beautiful islands after perhaps many months without the sight of land would in itself be sufficient to cheer the most perverse. Even today the first scent of an unspoiled tropical island is intoxicating. How much more so it must have been two centuries ago when compared to the miserable conditions of prolonged shipboard life. To leave the cramped, often disease-ridden quarters and harshness of shipboard existence and step ashore to a welcome from a happy and handsome people must have been a traumatic experience. For men deprived of all but very often the most brutal society; to be beckoned on with an abundance of the choicest fresh food and affectionate smiles from the people would be almost beyond comprehension.

It was not always like this and in some islands the newcomers were anything but welcome. However, generally speaking, these first meetings were mutually welcomed.

In any case, one can easily understand

the feelings of those first visitors and their joy at being accepted into such a society. The lowliest crew member was to those islanders a person of wonder. His possessions, though of the rudest kind and of no account in his own society, were infinitely superior to those of the Polynesians who were still living pretty much with an archaic culture.

This at least was the picture that was painted, embellished and enlarged out of all proportion by writers, artists and those who dreamed of just such a society. The picture was, of course, not true. It was a picture people wanted to see, drawn initially by those who viewed it as we would a sunlit green field from the confines of a dark, cold, stone cell.

To men like Cook and others of perception, the picture was far from free of blemishes. More particularly it was obvious to Cook that the islands and their people could never again be the same. Old values and beliefs had been upended; a superior technology had downgraded the social position of island artisans and worst of all, the three great destructive elements — firearms, alcohol and disease were introduced.

Cook had the unique opportunity (and the peculiar ability) to observe critically this initial contact period and the changes that occurred over the period of several visits.

His final visit to Tahiti did little to mitigate his feelings of responsibility for he wrote: "I cannot avoid expressing it as my real opinion that it would have been far better for these poor people never to have known our superiority in the accommodations and arts that make life comfortable, than after once knowing it, to be again left and abandoned in their original incapacity of improvement. Indeed they cannot be restored to that

happy mediocrity in which they lived before we discovered them if the intercourse between us should be discontinued. It seems to me that it has become, in a manner, incumbent on the Europeans to visit them once in three or four years, in order to supply them with those conveniences which we have introduced among them, and have given them a predilection for. The want of such occasional supplies will, probably, be felt very heavily by them, when it may be too late to go back to their old, less perfect contrivances which they now despise, and having discontinued since the introduction of ours. For, by the time that the iron tools, of which they are now possessed, are worn out, they will have almost lost the knowledge of their own. A stone hatchet is, at present, as rare a thing amongst them, as an iron one was eight years ago, and a chisel of bone or stone is not to be seen."

The changes noticed by Cook during the first few years of contact were accelerated greatly as a virtual flood of assorted adventurers poured into the Pacific at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The effects of this incursion were sudden, often savage and frequently disastrous in many ways.

As Cook had seen, the island people having once obtained so much technology from the Europeans that was superior to their own, very rapidly came to depend on a continuous supply believing it to be indispensable to their welfare. The first Europeans who wished to live among them were welcomed for this, it seemed, would insure a regular contact with the outside world.

The Pacific area, however, was looked upon by so many of the new arrivals as an unrestricted haven to be exploited in as

many ways as possible and the total lack of European regulations made this so much easier. The laws and beliefs of the indigenous people had for centuries provided a system of restrictions which worked but when the new arrivals showed little concern for these and openly flouted them without any apparent adverse reaction from the Polynesian gods there was a tendency for all to follow suit. So a long and carefully evolved system began to totter with little to replace it.

The fifty years that followed Cook's first arrival at Tahiti saw such a cavalcade of arrivals into the Pacific that a simple picture of this era is impossible. There were criminals, escaped convicts, traders, explorers, planters, missionaries, whalers, beachcombers, soldiers, politicians and financiers — a by no means exhaustive list, and their objects were as diverse as their callings. Not all, of course, were devoid of good intentions and in fairness to some, particularly the missionaries, it must be said that things might have been a great deal worse but for their efforts.

It is, however, the last century and a half which has wrought the greatest changes for the Pacific peoples. The first influx of Europeans and Asians made more dramatic alterations in a single lifetime than their darker-skinned predecessors had in perhaps a thousand generations.

EXTENT OF STUDIES

This brief and very generalised treatment of the origins and migrations of Pacific peoples is a very minute part of the serious study that has occupied much of the scientific world since the arrival of Captain Cook in 1769. For one it has involved the reading, sifting and consideration of a mass of material collected during

the last century and a half by many noted scholars, contemporary journals, academic publications and a personal lifetime of deep interest. Notwithstanding this, I am well aware that in relation to work already done my own contributions to Pacific cultural matters pale into insignificance.

And yet on reflection one is faced with the conclusion that with perhaps some very minor exceptions, this by now vast amount of published and unpublished material seems to be directed squarely at the academic, or at least sophisticated student. The number of Pacific Islanders who fill these ranks is fortunately growing at an ever increasing pace and will continue to do so. It is nevertheless beyond dispute that the total number of such people represents only a very small percentage of their total numbers.

It would be pertinent to ask here of those who really know the Asian peoples (if anyone can seriously claim to know well more than a very small section of them) if they (the Asians) could accept the same material readily in the form I have presented it. I would hazard the opinion that Asians too, like the Pacific peoples, have an age-old and clearly prescribed formula for both accepting and imparting information. I doubt if the prosaic and clinical Western methods would stir them deeply. I feel sure that whilst an attentive and polite hearing would, as a matter of course, be granted to all who would communicate with them, the real warmth of their society and depth of feelings are reserved for those who subscribe to and conform with their set of values.

As in every society nothing is of more consequence than communication and perhaps to the Pacific peoples whose wanderings have involved a period of

some six or seven thousand years and whose communities were scattered across millions of square miles of ocean this was even more so.

It is important, in fact vital, that if we are to acquaint the Pacific peoples with the cultures of Asia or any other entity, then we consider deeply the most acceptable method of presentation. In this respect it is important to remember that there is a peculiarly Pacific attitude to communication and if it is to be welcomed, to be accepted or rejected by them, it needs to be presented in a traditionally acceptable form. This "Pacific" system of communication which suits the Pacific peoples best has been perfected and refined for some thousands of years.

This in no way implies a lack of ability on their part to comprehend the research, the arguments and the consequent findings of reputable scholars. It simply means that the researcher or the communicator must first understand Pacific protocol. He or she must be able to stimulate interest and provide a distinct and valid need for mutual communication. There can be little doubt that two centuries of usually disastrous contact for the inhabitants with nearly all non-Pacific peoples provides at best an unconscious barrier to totally open contact.

If the exchange of cultural matters is the concern, then a culturally oriented approach and procedure is absolutely vital. If the matter for communication concerns the more mundane things of life (that is, in the Pacific peoples' scheme of things) then there is still a need for the niceties of this age-old cultural system.

I know that under the right conditions even the most isolated and unsophisticated Polynesian would be receptive to any event or discussion which concerned his own and other cultures. If any proof of

this is required one need only consider the almost euphoric delight with the cultural exchanges that took place amongst the most diverse groups during the South Pacific Festival of Arts held in New Zealand during 1976. It was probably the same during the 1980 event held in Papua New Guinea.

As one who was directly involved in the staging of the New Zealand event I was, in fact, struck with the deep interest shown by all participants in the displays of cultural material and the acceptance of the place of ethnology, anthropology and archaeology (as well as other disciplines) in the study of their particular place in the wider society.

However, the interest shown by almost every Pacific Island group towards the carefully planned and professionally arranged displays, exhibitions and competitive performances was as nothing compared to the exuberance of their informal gatherings with their host communities. The fact that in some cases the visiting Pacific group spoke a language not understood by their hosts made little difference to communication that mattered. It may even have assisted in producing a rapport that sometimes springs from a mutual problem. The important ingredient, however, was the recognition on each side of the importance of each other's cultural values and the patience to accept without perhaps an initial clear understanding.

Songs, mimed stories, arts and crafts were exchanged and taught and the depth of concern for each other's comfort and point of view was unmatched in my experience. Now, six years later, friendships developed during that two-week festival have not diminished and communication is still maintained.

I believe that the thinkers of the

Pacific world had, with the accumulated knowledge of perhaps 50,000 years solved, at least to their own satisfaction, most of the mysteries that we have searched after avidly during our own scientific age.

Their conception of creation; their stories of discovery and migration; their ideals of conservation and moral rights and wrongs are clearly maintained in their cultural traditions. Though perpetuated as highly imaginative and exciting tales, they contain to the astute observer much that is upheld by modern research.

Their traditional interpretation of the past illustrates the form of communication that has existed within their system since the beginning. Contrary to what may be imagined, these same stories are told within their own society (and with much relish) even today. In New Zealand, a new wave of enthusiasm during the last two decades has elevated this most vital element of Pacific culture to unprecedented heights.

In contrast to those current theories concerning the origin and spread of the Pacific peoples as outlined at the beginning of this paper, a modest review of those same peoples' own cultural traditions concerning the same subject is relevant. Its relevance is not simply academic as even today the success of formal proceedings and the communication of matters of importance will depend to no small degree on the enthusiasm and receptiveness created by a knowledge of traditional procedure and background.

POLYNESIAN PREAMBLE

Almost everywhere throughout the Pacific Islands the name *Hawaiki* represents the original homeland of its peoples and the place to which they all

return after death. Two exceptions are Samoa and Tonga where the people speak of their own island (in the case of Samoa) and of Polutu (in Tonga) as the land to which the souls of the departed return. So too on almost every island of Polynesia there is a traditional "Departing-place-of-spirits" (as Sir Peter Buck described it) from which the soul begins its return journey to Hawaiki. An interesting point is that in every case the spirit is believed to travel west to reach its goal.

In any discussion concerning his origins, the Polynesian invariably turns to his knowledge of genealogy for a full account of his activities since the creation.

It is unlikely that any people ever became as proficient as did the Polynesians in the recital of family genealogies. This was to them an established technique and upon the extent of knowledge exhibited by an individual depended to a tremendous degree his prestige. In fact, a thorough knowledge of genealogies was a prerequisite to a superior position in Polynesian society. Experts (particularly among the Maori of New Zealand) confounded early European listeners by reciting their family genealogies which often included several hundred names.

Even direct family lines were sometimes given which contained a hundred names or more and stretched back to a remote period, the names finally becoming those of heroes, demigods and the gods themselves. Though these recitations satisfied the ordinary early Polynesian and were undoubtedly believed to be an accurate account of his descent, the names beyond the period of migration to their island homes are, of course, very much myth. Sir Peter Buck in commenting on this aspect of genealogies said: "Thus we have the Void, Abyss, Night, Gloom, Dawn, Light, Thought, Conception, and

various other ideas recited as a genealogy... because the genealogical recital was the literary technique for recording not only historical events but also the order in which nature presumably came into being."

As mentioned, most Polynesians believed that they arrived from a distant homeland which is invariably called Hawaiki or a dialectal variation of that word. It is some nebulous place and probably refers to the last staging area used. For instance, to the Maori of New Zealand, Rarotonga was probably his Hawaiki as that was his starting point for the southern islands. However, because of his long isolation in New Zealand Rarotonga was but an indistinct memory. Similarly, Tahiti was no doubt the Hawaiki of the Rarotongan and Tonga or Samoa Hawaiki to the Tahitian.

As some indication of the importance of cultural background in the day-to-day affairs of 1982, let me tell you of a situation I was recently involved in. I attended a meeting of businessmen and professionals called to raise funds for the reconstruction of a building of traditional importance to the Polynesian community. Those attending were predominantly of Polynesian stock.

The affairs of the gathering were in the hands of someone imbued with the importance of tradition and particularly New Zealand's indigenous culture. In relation to this it should be recognized that the event I am to describe was a living experience and as such can in no way be duplicated with the cold text provided here.

The speaker was anxious to explain the value of this project to our society. He began by speaking of the ancestors of those who first erected the building in question:

"Do not dismiss lightly," he said, "the importance of this building. It represents the accumulation of centuries of affection. It was erected as a place where all might gather not only to enjoy and hand on the stories of our forbears but a symbol of respect for our traditions. And the traditions of our own ancestors are unique.

"Consider, for instance, the founder of our tribe. He was not just an ordinary mortal being. He was, in fact, born of the gods of Hāwaiki, our original homeland.

"When we lived there, in Hāwaiki, there was a young woman who was so pure — so perfect in every way that the gods watching over these people decided she was too perfect to bear an ordinary mortal child. So, a god called Puhaorangi was sent down to stay with her and in time she conceived and bore a child who was thus half god and half mortal. He was called Ohomairangi, 'Born of the Skies'. That was our first real tribal ancestor and from him were descended Muturangi, Taunga, Tuamatua, Houmaitawhiti and Tamatekapua. It was during the times of Tamatekapua that we began our long journey to New Zealand.

"It is hard to imagine," he continued, "that the migration of our people was brought about because of a dog. And yet, legend tells us that it was indeed a dog called Potakatawhiti that set off the train of events. The dog belonged to Tamatekapua, the great-great-great-grandson of Ohomairangi and young man noted for his escapades and spirit.

"The dog dug a hole in the garden of a certain old man who was furious at the intrusion. The old man was a tohunga, one possessed of magic powers and he killed the dog, cooked it and ate it.

"Tamatekapua was distressed by the loss of his dog and searched everywhere for it, always calling out its name loudly.

Eventually he wandered close to where the old tohunga lived, still calling out for his dog. He was a noisy young man and the old tohunga rushed out of his house to chase Tamatekapua away. Just as he did so the young man called out again to his dog and there was an instant answering howl from inside the belly of the old tohunga. The secret was out and Tamatekapua and his brother decided to seek revenge on the old man for the loss of the dog.

"The two boys built stilts for themselves and each night crept into the garden of the old man and stole the fruit ripening on his trees. The old man suspected what was happening and one night he caught the two boys and dealt them some severe punishment.

"However, this episode caused an argument between those who supported the old tohunga and those in favor of the boys. The arguments grew and finally there was such discord that the group who supported Tamatekapua and his brother decided that they could no longer remain with the others in Hāwaiki. They would leave the island and travel south to a new land recently discovered by Kupe, a land called Aotearoa, now known as New Zealand.

"A special canoe was built from a forest giant and finally was drawn up on the beach to be equipped and provisioned for the long voyage.

"The name of the canoe was 'Te Arawa' and the captain was Tamatekapua. All was well and in time the journey was about to begin. Then Tamatekapua realised that he had forgotten to secure the services of a tohunga (a priest with magic powers) for the voyage. This was important as only the power of a tohunga could insure the safety of all concerned on a tremendous adventure such as this.

"So he spoke to a mighty tohunga called Ngatoroirangi and asked him if he would at least come aboard before it left to recite some very necessary chants and prayers. The tohunga agreed and came aboard with his wife, only intending to offer up the prayers and to wish those aboard a safe trip. However, while the prayers were in progress Tamatekapua had come aboard with his wife, only intending short time they were at sea – the tohunga and his wife had been abducted!

"But this was not the only mischief Tamatekapua was responsible for. He had a good friend on the island whose name was Ruaeo. People were to learn soon that he had obviously been an even better friend of the wife of Ruaeo! Just before the canoe departed Tamatekapua asked his friend Ruaeo if he would mind returning to the village and looking for a sacred jade adze which he'd forgotten to bring. Ruaeo did as he had been asked but much as he searched could not find the adze. Going back to the beach to report to Tamatekapua, he couldn't find him either, or the canoe, or his wife. So you can see – this Tamatekapua was a trouble-maker of some consequence.

"To begin with, everything aboard the 'Te Arawa' canoe seemed well and it sailed on with its course being set each night by the tohunga, Ngatoroirangi, who sillfully watched the stars. However, while he was attending to this, Tamatekapua was making amorous advances to his (the tohunga's) wife. However, Ngatoroirangi soon realised what was happening and became so annoyed that he decided to destroy the canoe and everyone on board. He created a great storm with his magic powers and in the midst of it the canoe was drawn into a gigantic whirlpool and began to sink.

"Those on board were filled with

terror and they cried out to Ngatoroirangi to save them. He finally relented and by means of another spell caused the storm to abate and soon the canoe was again sailing safely towards Aotearoa.

"The old Maori people say that actually the canoe was drawn into the throat of a gigantic monster that lurks beneath the surface of the Pacific Ocean. They say, moreover, that it is this monster that causes the tides. As the monster breathes in, so the waters are drawn away from the shores and down into his belly. As he exhales the water gushes up through his throat filling the oceans and again rushing up onto the beaches.

"The 'Te Arawa' canoe finally reached this country and came ashore at Maketu, [a delightful little estuary in the central Bay of Plenty] but not before Tamatekapua and a couple of his fellow voyagers had claimed all the land that could be seen from that place.

"The new arrivals were lucky they'd chosen Maketu for their final destination because it abounds in seafood. They relied very heavily on this source because when they were sucked down into the ocean during their voyage, everything except one small basket of kumara [sweet potato] had been lost overboard. The most fertile spot at Maketu was selected for the planting of the precious kumara and legend has it that all the kumara growing in New Zealand sprang from that little basketful. The place where this happened is still pointed out and is called 'Te Rokiroki-a-Whakaotirangi.'

"Tamatekapua was ultimately chased away from Maketu because he was still such a nuisance. He then lived at a place which is today called Coromandel and when he died he was buried on the summit of the highest mountain there, Moeau. All these things happened over

six hundred years ago but in 1939 the descendants of those who took part in the great journey and subsequent events built a very elaborate house in memory of Tamatekapua. Before it was officially opened they went back to the summit of Moehau and removed a slab of granite from that place. This they brought back and placed flush with the ground in front of the new house. In this way they feel that at least part of the spirit of Tamatekapua was absorbed into that rock and so it lies now also in front of his own memorial building.

"Tamatekapua had a son called Kahumatamomoe; who had a son called Tawakemoetahanga; who had a son called Uenukumairarotonga; who had a son called Rangitihi-te-upoko-whakahirahira.

"This last named was originally only called Rangitihi. Tradition records that while leading his men into battle on one occasion he lowered his guard for an instant and was struck a terrific blow by one of his enemies with a sharp-edged club. Such was the force that Rangitihi's head was split asunder from top to bottom.

"However, Rangitihi was not to be dismissed so lightly and calling for one of his fastest runners instructed him to procure a metre or two of the *akatea* vine. This was duly done and taking the sinew-like creeper Rangitihi pushed the two sides of his split head together and bound them firmly. Then he continued to lead his men into battle with such vigor that the enemy was vanquished. So he received the additional title of Rangitihi-te-upoko-whakahirahira; 'Rangitihi the Hard-headed One.'

"The severe wound did little to sap the strength of Rangitihi. His life was noted for great achievements, not the least being the siring of eight extremely

important children, each in time becoming the progenitor of one of the eight great tribes that make up the confederation of tribes [known collectively as 'Te Arawa' — so called after the canoe that brought them from Hawaiki] which inhabit this particular district.

"Every one of his children was famous and performed mighty feats. An elder son of his was called Rangiwhakaekeau and on one occasion he paid a visit to Te Teko, a small place some fifty kilometres from where he lived. While there he fell violently in love with an attractive young lady, whose husband happened to be away at that particular time. The feelings were obviously mutual because when Rangiwhakaekeau left to return to Rotorua he said to the young lady: 'If our child is a girl, call her after the current in the nearby Rangitaiki River. If it is a boy, call him after the clouds which drift in the sky.'

"In the fullness of time the day arrived for the birth of the child and as always happened on such occasions the women of the village and the *tohungas* gathered about the expectant mother to provide the physical and spiritual help so necessary. One of the things essential to ensure a successful birth was a recital of the genealogy of the child and this the *tohunga-in-charge* proceeded to give. He recited the genealogy through the child's mother and then through the child's mother's husband. But no matter how many times he did this the woman lay in labor and it seemed the baby would never appear. At last the young woman concerned could stand the pain no longer and she said to the *tohunga*: 'Please try the genealogy of Rangiwhakaekeau who lives in Rotorua.'

"This the *tohunga* did and at once the baby was born and all was well. Of

course, the people then knew that the natural father of the child, a boy, was not the woman's husband, but Rangiwahakeau of Rotorua. However, as she had been bidden, the mother called the child 'Rangiteaore,' 'The Drifting Clouds.'

And so the stories continued until every ancestor in the whole genealogical line from Tamatekapua down to the speaker had been revealed. There was no need for further discussion and certainly no need to formally request aid for the project. In that wonderful cultural atmosphere we had become caught up in the enthusiasm, excited; part of the process of history and no further comment or appeal was necessary. Of course, the building was underwritten there and then and we were all proud to be associated with it.

My object in recounting that story was to demonstrate the approach of a Pacific Islander when seeking assistance. He knew it was essential that he involve all present with the enthusiasm of being part of this wonderful Pacific culture. He would know too that if he was successful in this he audience would at the sametime accept the obligation of preserving the same culture. There was even more to his stories than that. The very stories he told, all clearly linked to a succession of ancestors, indicated (to those with a degree of knowledge of these things) his position of authority within the tribal hierarchy of our district and his right to be speaking on this occasion.

He might well have known nothing of anthropology or journalism or mass media. He may never have been inside a university or a radio or television studio and may never have seen a single one of his spoken words in print, but he understood thoroughly — better than most, how to communicate with his

fellows.

An intelligent journalist should never despair if his knowledge of Pacific culture and peoples is of a modest nature. The essential ingredient is a genuine interest in the subject, sympathy with the people and a great deal of patience. There will be no lack of eager tutors and the learning process will be a mutually enlightening experience.

There is a tremendous need for the promotion of Asian-Pacific cultural exchanges. Asia and the Pacific Islands (which I take to include Australia and New Zealand) are inextricably linked with a mutual prehistoric homeland and the current joint occupation of much of the earth's surface, thinly spread in parts though it may be.

No one who has an interest in the Pacific area can be unaware of the massive political and economic problems facing its peoples. The future of this vast area is bound up very much with the extent to which these same people, now much more politically in charge of their own destinies than before, can cope with and solve them. There is no doubt, at least in my mind, that much of the present turmoil can be traced to initial disinterest and then misguided benevolence from former administering powers. There seems to be a cynical attitude abroad towards the effectiveness of the numerous bodies set up over the years with the aim of improving the lot of the Pacific Islander.

My knowledge of Pacific politics and economics is woefully inadequate but I do know that the solving of these matters will require the goodwill, understanding and tolerance of everyone. I know just as surely that communication and an exchange of ideas are vital ingredients in the scheme. The first step must be an appreciation of each other's culture, for

this will be the main credential necessary in any initial contact of worth.

Any attempt to improve communications between these peoples is not only

worthy of support but must ultimately lead to a greater understanding and tolerance between us all and that, surely, is the goal of this whole Convention.

The R.O.C.'s Role in Cultural Exchange through Mass Communication

Wan-lai Lee (李萬來)

Central News Agency, R.O.C.

Mass communication plays an increasingly significant role in promoting cultural exchange and development in regional as well as international communities. Communication is as old as civilization and history. With the development of society and technology, communication media have also become daily diversified and sophisticated. The current usage of the term "Mass Communication" instead of "Communication" indicates the multidimensional changes and development of communication process. In effect, diversification of communication media not only stimulates the structural growth of a single human society, but also correlates the interflow of human activities in the community of nations.

In his paper *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society* published in 1948, Professor Harold D. Lasswell says that "communication is a feature of life at every level." If it was so at the time when he made this erudite

observation, it is even more valid nowadays when we are living in a "shrinking world." In other words, no nations, societies or cultures are untouched by industrial civilization that has continuously transformed the technology of communication media, enriched the contents of human knowledge, and transmitted the information of various human communities to one another.

Professor Lasswell especially terms this phenomenon as "World Attention Process." He notes the following three categories of specialists acting as fermentative elements in stimulating this interaction among nations:

One group surveys the political environment of the state as a whole, another correlates the response of the whole state to the environment, and the third transmits certain patterns of response from the old to the young. Diplomats, attachés, and foreign correspondents are representatives of those who

specialize on the environment. Editors, journalists, and speakers are correlators of the internal response. Educators in family and school transmit the social inheritance.¹

This "World Attention Process" reflects a wide spectrum of human activities in the political, economic, social, and cultural affairs. And in the field of cultural interactions, the Republic of China, as the center and guardian of genuine Chinese culture, can make even greater contributions to the Asian-Pacific region in the years to come.

UNIVERSALITY OF CULTURES

From the viewpoints of cultural anthropology, we should take note of three major schools of theory on the development of cultures. The first school focuses on the theories of *Psychic Unity*, *Independent Invention*, *Parallelism*, *Unilinear Development*, and *Gradual Progressivism*. This is generally called the school of "Social Evolutionism" as first created by August Comté (*Cours de Philosophie Positive*) and later further developed by Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology*). Other important followers include A. Lange (*Custom and Myth*), E.S. Hartland (*Myth and Ritual*), H. Balfour (*The Evolution of Decorative Art*) and A.A. Haddon (*The Evolution of Art*).

The second school emphasizes the importance of cultural "Diffusion." Supporters of the theory recognize the fact that similarities of cultures among different peoples may result from cultural "borrowing" rather than parallel developments. The school was well represented by E. Graebner, (*Die Methode der Ethnologie*), W.H.R. Rivers (*The History*

of Melanesian Society), and G. Elliot Smith (*The Migration of Early Culture*).

In view of the imperfections of the above two schools of research, another group of scholars such as Franz Boas (*Anthropology and Modern Life*), C. Wissler (*Man and Culture*), and A.L. Kroeber (*Anthropology*) had been trying to use "Historical Methods" to study the development of human culture. Besides developing more scientific ways of research, they also attempted to combine and merge the theories of other schools with a more critical spirit of scrutiny. Certainly, with the development of behavioral sciences, qualitative and quantitative methods have also been applied to the study of cultural development and exchanges. As a result of this diversity in approaches, Clifford Geertz has said:

Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions are its most tremulously based, in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others, that you are not quite getting it right.²

Despite the differences of theory on cultural development, we may still define culture as the "total social heritage carried by society."³

Although culture and nationality are not necessarily synonymous, the nation state has become the strongest unifying force in identifying cultures in the modern world. Therefore, national culture is often closely related to a race or a people living within a certain boundary of territory. But the interactions of culture among various peoples or nations,

as so vividly demonstrated in our modern world, have to be attained through contacts, inheritance, transmission, and modification. Culture changes in time and is also symbolized in act and artifact. In his book *Primitive Culture*, Tylor outlines the elements of culture as follows:

Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.⁴

With the fast development and renovation of technology, knowledge has become common human traits, religion (belief) and art have spread far and wide, law has been institutionalized into several schools of system in our present international community, and morals also have moved toward similarity in common standards. Even in political terms, the ideology of communism and that of democracy have also developed into blocs among groups of nations or regions.

This similarity in diversity and the growing universality of culture traits have been made possible through the achievements of "Mass Communication."

POLICIES OF CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

We will define mass communication as the process of transferring information from one agent to another agent in which the communication is impersonal, feedback is indirect and delayed, the audience is not specified, and messages are generalized.⁵ And we may further elaborate that *Mass Communication* is like a string threading through time and circumstances, schools of thought, and approaches to study in promoting cultural development

and exchange. Within a nation, culture must be transmitted from the old to the young, gradually bringing the cultural level of a society to a certain degree of uniformity.

This process of transmitting culture is called "Socialization."⁶ But among a group of nations, this "Socialization" becomes "Communication" if similarities of culture traits between them are to be brought about. In other words, the infusion and diffusion of cultures from one nation to another needs channels of communication just as blood transfusion cannot be done without the function of the main artery.

Although the elements and forms of culture may be universal, its content still varies greatly from nation to nation. For example, language barriers create misunderstanding between peoples, while religious differences often cause conflict and animosity among nations. To overcome these difficulties, nations have to make "conscious" efforts to promote mutual understanding through well-planned policies. Therefore, in addition to natural interflow of information and cultures, many governments have adopted programs to engage in cultural relations activities.

France was probably the first of the Great Powers to develop cultural relations as an official activity. In the late 19th century, Britain and Germany initiated their own programs of cultural exchanges.⁷ The cultural perception received by the young leaders of former colonial territories in Britain or France contributed to their sense of appreciation of British and French values and basic political and legal institutions. However, these influences may sometimes give rise to averse reactions causing sensitivity and suspicion in the newly emerging nations and peoples of

the world about foreign cultural invasion.

From the positive aspect, we may think of such successful cultural and educational programs as the Rhodes, Commonwealth and Marshall Scholarships. They have made it possible for thousands of talented young men to study in each other's countries, thus strengthening the cultural bonds among Great Britain, the United States, and the Commonwealth.

There is no denying that international communication and cultural exchanges have become an instrument of policy in the community of nations. Even the Communist countries are trying to exploit the cultural relations program in influencing the peoples of the non-Communist world.

In his book *The Soviet Cultural Offensive*, Professor Fredrick Barghoon points to the fact that extensive research, language, and other specialized training, together with the writing, processing and supplying of materials, go into Soviet endeavors to export culture and to exert influence in the developing countries. On the other hand, the United States and other developed nations in the West have also spent no less efforts and money than the Soviet Union has in exerting cultural influences as part of their overall foreign policy programs.

The mass communication media utilized by the nations in disseminating their cultural impacts have also been enhanced from such traditional means as newspapers and publication of books and magazines to the modern production of films, television programs, records, and exchanges of students, dancers, musicians, scientists, writers, scholars, and other creative or performing artists.

ROC'S EFFORTS IN CULTURAL EXCHANGES

The nations in the Asian-Pacific region have long understood the importance of cultural exchanges in the process of promoting political, and economic co-operation among themselves. Since its inception, the Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union has been making every effort in carrying out the cultural exchange programs. The establishment of the Asian-Pacific Cultural Center and the holding of Asian-Pacific cultural scholars' conventions by rotation in the APPU'S member states clearly indicate endeavors in this direction.

However, as the majority of countries in this region still belong to the developing Third World bloc, they may feel sensitive to the intrusion of foreign cultures into their traditional ones. With the development of their economies and modernization of their societies, foreign technology and investments may also bring in foreign ideology and way of life to temporarily disturb the structure of their traditional societies and cultures.

The Republic of China, like many other nations in this region, faces the dilemma of uncertainty in trying to adjust its transition from a traditional society to a modern one and in renovating its culture to meet the needs and challenges of the modern world. In contrast to Communist China's policy of attempting to destroy Chinese culture through the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the so-called "Cultural Revolution," this nation has continued to safeguard the genuine Chinese culture and has in the process also become the bastion of Chinese cultural renaissance. In addition to the existence of a private non-profit organization *The Council of Chinese Cultural Renaissance*, the ROC also established a *Council for Cultural Planning and Development* at the end of last year. This new government

organ is aimed at working out programs to ensure spiritual and cultural life without being overwhelmed in the pursuit of material progress and also at promoting cultural exchanges with other friendly nations of the world.

Under the guidance of the Three Principles of the People (Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood) as created by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founding father of the Republic of China, this nation's cultural policy has been one of continuing accommodation and cooperation with those of other countries. The ROC believes that only through cultural exchanges can national culture be further enriched and understanding across international borders be fostered.

During the past 30 years, the ROC has actively engaged in the following major cultural exchanges with other nations in the Asian-Pacific region:

— Language teaching: Language accounts for much of human communication, and culture growth through invention and diffusion depends on language. Over the years, thousands of students from the countries in this region and other parts of the world have come to and are continuing to arrive in the ROC to study Chinese language, thereby bringing in their cultures and also transmitting Chinese culture back to their own countries. At the same time, many hundreds of Chinese students go abroad to pursue advanced studies in other countries. This process of exchange of young students has successfully built a cultural bridge between this nation and other countries of the world.

— News exchanges: The Central News Agency, a leading news organization in the ROC, had been one of the founding members of the Organization of Asian News Agencies (OANA). Although CNA had been forced to leave OANA due to

political interference, it is still actively promoting bilateral news exchange programs with such news agencies as the Antara News Agency in Indonesia, Philippines News Service in Manila, Yonghap News Agency in the Republic of Korea, and Kyodo News Agency in Japan.

At the same time, in view of the existence of Chinese language newspapers in Hongkong, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Korea, and Japan, the CNA has for many years continued to provide the mass media there with news of regional as well as international interest through the coverage of its reporters around the world. It is now in the process of computerizing its news dissemination network so as to provide better services to its domestic as well as overseas clients.

— Television and radio broadcast: The ROC is an active member of the Asian-Pacific Television Organization. In December last year, this nation sponsored the Fourth Asian-Pacific Television Conference in Taipei, in which scholars and experts from the region exchanged views on the impact of satellite broadcasting, cable TV, teletext and videotex. The participants have come to the conclusion that new technology in communication and television and radio program exchanges will further strengthen inter- as well as intra-regional understanding and cultural interflows. It should also be noted that local television and radio stations have entered into sisterhood relationship with their counterparts in other countries of the region.

— Film productions: This nation has long been a member of the Asian Film Festival, and it will send a mission of its film producers, movie stars and artistic workers to take part in this year's festival to be held in Malaysia soon. In the past

three years, the ROC's Government Information Office has also invited film producers and performers from the Asian-Pacific region to participate in this nation's major film festival — Golden Horse Film Awards — for exchange of experiences in film production. Locally produced films have been exported to other countries in the region, while this country also makes efforts to introduce films made by other Asian-Pacific nations for showing to the public here.

— Religious links: Buddhism, Catholicism, Islam and Christianity co-exist freely in the ROC. Exchange of visits and preachings among the various religious groups of the nations in this region have taken place frequently. For example, the World Buddhists Conference was held in Taipei not long ago to promote unity and harmony among Buddhism believers in this region and other parts of the world. Local religious groups often make visits abroad to promote mutual understanding with their counterparts in other countries.

— Liaison of Asian Chinese writers: In view of the fact that the Asian-Pacific region has a large number of people of Chinese descent, the ROC's writers organized a meeting sometime ago for other Chinese writers from this part of the world to discuss writing experiences and techniques here.

— Theater arts and folklore music exchanges: The First Asian Theatre Festival and Conference was held in Taipei early this year under the initiatives of theater and drama workers of the country. During the meeting, papers were presented by the scholars and experts from the Asian-Pacific region for discussions in addition to the staging of demonstration shows by the respective national groups. The participants in the meeting stressed the theme "respecting

the traditions while pursuing the modern." Furthermore, the ROC has also enthusiastically joined in the activities of Asian folklore music.

In recent years, to upgrade the quality of life in line with the continuing economic and material progress of this nation, the government as well as the private sectors have sponsored various cultural activities featuring Asian regional characteristics. For instance, the Taipei City Government organizes an arts festival lasting for three months every year, during which period many performing art groups from the region are invited to give shows here. Local newspapers have also signed agreements with their counterparts in other countries for exchanges of information and news coverage.

CULTURAL EXCHANGES THROUGH CONFUCIANISM

Communication scholars and executives in the developing nations of the world have long expressed a deep concern about the imbalance of information flow between East and West. In recent years, actions have been taken and programs adopted by the governments in the Middle East, Africa as well as Asia to form regional news networks so as to serve the mass media in their own areas. However, in view of the control of advanced technology and funds by the Western developed nations, the developing countries still lag far behind.

Scholars on development studies such as Professors Lucian Pye and Daniel Lerner have noted that developing nations probably could not completely resist the influences of Western technology and civilization in the process of transforming their traditional societies into the modern ones.⁸ And much concern has been

expressed by the developing nations about the impact of those superficial and over-commercialized cultures from the West on the texture of their societies.

But by discarding chauvinism and xenophobia, we may still selectively introduce foreign cultures into our societies to benefit the needs of our own development and modernization. In this sense, we would like to suggest Confucianism, from the viewpoint of Oriental philosophy and spirit, as one of the main streams of thinking for cultural exchanges in the Asian-Pacific region.

In essence, Confucian philosophy has long been regarded as the foundation of Chinese culture. And this cultural root has spread from China to Korea, to Japan, to Hongkong, to Singapore, and to other countries in the Asian-Pacific region where many people of Chinese origin have been assimilated into the societies and cultures there. As Confucianism is a philosophy of tolerance and accommodation, its spirit has always emphasized moderation and "The Middle Road."

Throughout history, Chinese culture has never been one of aggressive nature and it can be naturally incorporated into the cultures of other peoples and societies. The most conspicuous examples are non-Chinese countries like Korea and Japan where Confucianism has become part of

their national cultures, serving as a great stabilizing factor in maintaining harmonious social order and in stimulating fast economic development through thrift, diligence and ethics. Humanism is not only a feature of Chinese culture and essential to Confucianism, but also the common characteristic of Oriental philosophy prevailing among all the peoples in the Asian-Pacific region.

In short, the peoples of this region should commonly share the spirit of Confucianism and promote cultural exchanges through the theory and practice of Confucian philosophy. At the same time, the ROC must also open its heart and mind to assimilate the cultures of other peoples and make them part of the Confucian spirit and tradition. In conclusion, I would like to quote a Confucius' saying contained in the Chapter on Great Commonwealth from The Book of Rites:

When the Great Principles prevail, the world is a Commonwealth in which rulers are selected according to their wisdom and ability. Mutual confidence is promoted and good neighborliness cultivated. Hence men do not regard as parents only their own parents, nor do they treat as children only their own children.

And there is no need for people to shut their outer doors.

This is called the Great Harmony.⁹

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Section I

The Media and U.S. Foreign Policy

William A. Rusher

In many countries, a talk on "The Media and Foreign Policy" would consist largely of describing how the nation's foreign policy influences the media. In the case of the United States today, however, the only conceivable subject of a talk thus entitled is a description of how our media influence U.S. foreign policy. That they do influence it is, as we shall see, readily demonstrable; but the reasons for this influence, and the techniques whereby it is exercised, require some explanation.

In the United States, foreign policy is ordinarily of only secondary interest to the public — except, of course, for those segments of the public with ethnic ties to this or that foreign country. My own magazine, *National Review*, for example, regularly carries reports by correspondents in foreign capitals; but repeated surveys of our readership show that these are not as widely read as those portions of the magazine devoted to domestic affairs — even though our readers are highly educated, highly sophisticated, and in general thoroughly alert to what is going on in the rest of the world.

The result of this relative indifference is that foreign affairs in the United States tend to be the preoccupation

of specialized minorities: the ethnic segments already mentioned, plus an elite group of foreign affairs specialists in the multinational corporations, certain large law firms, various foundations, and of course the State Department bureaucracy. Add to these the relatively small number of highly organized and sensitized liberals and conservatives, who can be counted on to stay interested in foreign affairs as one aspect of their general ideological commitment, and you have pretty well summarized that minor fraction of the U.S. population that cares deeply about U.S. foreign policy. Most other Americans pay little attention to the subject unless its mismanagement threatens to plunge the country into war.

This relatively narrow spectrum of individuals interested in U.S. foreign policy is one major reason for the very considerable impact that certain of the media have on that policy. But how shall we account for the heavy bias of the media over the past half-century in favor of liberal policies in the field of foreign affairs?

The liberalism of the media, often in striking contrast to the more conservative attitudes of the American public at large, is not an easy phenomenon to explain, but it is an undeniable fact. Less than a

year ago, the magazine *Public Opinion* published a report by two academicians, Professors Lichter and Rothman of George Washington University and Smith College, respectively, on the results of a survey of the attitudes of 240 randomly selected members of the "media elite" — reporters, editors, broadcasters, news executives, etc. working for our leading newspapers, newsmagazines, wire services, television networks, and independent television stations. Among many other interesting things, the survey — in the course of which each of the 240 individuals had submitted to an hour-long interview — disclosed that, in the presidential elections of 1964, 1968, 1972 and 1976, the proportion of those questioned who had voted for the Democratic candidate was never less than 80 percent. When you consider that in two of those elections (1968 and 1972) the Republican candidate was the winner, and that in a third (1976) the outcome was extremely close, it becomes apparent how much more liberal America's media elite is than the U.S. public as a whole.

The reason for this liberal bias lies somewhere in the distant backgrounds of the individuals in the media who are afflicted by it. Very probably they were incipient liberals even before they decided to become journalists, and chose a career in journalism (rather than one in business, or engineering, or agriculture) precisely because they sensed that the world of ideas was already dominated by people sympathetic, or at least open, to liberalism.

Up until about 1966, in any case, the media's liberal bias resulted in their enthusiastic support of those many aspects of U.S. foreign policy that liberals then favored: extensive U.S. involvement in other parts of the globe (as opposed

to America's "isolationism" before World War II); large amounts of foreign aid, and in particular economic as opposed to military aid; appeasement of the Soviet Union (successively defined first as "coexistence" and then as "detente"); increased trade with the Soviet Union; limitation of nuclear arms (in which the United States long held a clear superiority); enlargement of the role of the United Nations, and with it an emphasis on the superior virtue of the "uncommitted" Third World; hostility to the race policies of South Africa; and so on. Indeed, in this period almost the only aspect of U.S. foreign policy of which our liberal media did *not* approve was our bipartisan policy of diplomatically quarantining Red China.

Beginning about 1966, however, American liberals, including the overwhelmingly liberal media elite, began for the first time to turn against the presidency. The break was complete by the end of President Johnson's first full term, and Johnson, as you know, did not even bother to seek reelection. The rupture became vastly more visible during the Nixon administration, of course, since Nixon had long been a special *bête noire* of the liberal media; and the climax came with Nixon's resignation as a result of the Watergate revelations. Since then, the liberal media have in general remained hostile to presidents of both parties — largely, no doubt, because these presidents have necessarily sought to adjust their policies to the increasingly conservative mood of the American electorate.

In terms of foreign policy, the liberal media since 1966 have been increasingly hostile to American involvements abroad; sharply critical of such adjuncts of foreign policy as the use of undercover agents;

more strongly committed than ever to nuclear arms limitations, even (in some cases) if these are effectively unilateral; frankly hostile to the activities of multinational corporations and sympathetic to Third World charges of exploitation; favorable to attempts to bring both the world's oceans and outer space under the aegis and control of the UN (meaning, in effect, under the control of the Third World-Communist coalition that dominates the UN); supportive of the so-called "front-line" black African states in their struggle against South Africa; sympathetic to the leftist guerrillas now waging civil war with Cuban and Soviet aid in various nations of Central America; etc. Curiously, once again the most noteworthy exception to the general rule concerning the liberal media's attitude toward U.S. foreign policy was China: The liberals warmly endorsed the initiative of their ancient enemy, Richard Nixon, in opening diplomatic relations with Peking.

It is tempting to let the explanation of the liberals' successive biases in regard to U.S. foreign policy go at that: as simply the application to specific situations of familiar liberal doctrines or principles. But I believe that the liberal media's break with the presidency in and after 1966 represented much more than merely a developing of differences of political opinion.

I submit that what we are seeing is the rise — to self-awareness, and to the battle for status — of something perhaps best described as a new class.

The proposition that a new class is contending for power in our society is no longer itself new. It has been obvious for some time that what Kevin Phillips calls the Knowledge Industry, and others the "verbalizers," are having a powerful and essentially competitive impact on the

familiar economic and social classes. Technology has brought swift growth, and with it immense power, to those who neither toil nor spin but deal instead in the intangible commodity of ideas: words, pictures, concepts. They include a substantial proportion of academics, bureaucratic regulators, foundation executives, consumerists, and (most important for our purposes) the media. They do not, by and large, produce any part of the consumable wealth of the society, but they consume a major and growing portion of it, and they consider themselves opponents and competitors of the producers. They are bidding aggressively for status and power in the American society.

Whether they constitute a new class, strictly so regarded, is still debatable. But there cannot, I think, be much dispute over the proposition that the media in our day are very powerful, and are seeking to become more powerful still.

The *New York Times* and various other large journalistic enterprises are, as Max Kampelman pointed out not long ago, among our biggest and most powerful corporations. *Newsweek* magazine, The *Washington Post*, and WTOP-TV are all owned by the same enormously influential conglomerate. Time Inc. is in the process of inhaling the Book of the Month Club, simply as one more subdivision. And so on.

Since 1966, a major segment of the Washington press corps has considered itself ordained to joust with successive presidents, and committed to unhorsing them if possible. This formidable self-assignment has generated the media's current demand for brand-new powers and immunities — or, as it prefers (wrongly but not necessarily insincerely) to say —

the protection of "traditional" press privileges and immunities from the attacks of hostile presidents and their judicial appointees. And to a not inconsiderable extent — partly through the courts, but primarily through legislation — our society has acceded to that demand.

As we observe them in America today, therefore, the media constitute a powerful independent force in the society, increasingly conscious of itself as one major component of a new class of verbalizers that has risen to challenge the established hegemony of the business sector and its traditional allies. Its doctrines, however, are the liberal doctrines that have been so largely discredited in recent years, and the success of the challenge is therefore by no means assured. Meanwhile, the battle rages — and in the field of foreign policy at least as much as elsewhere. How is that battle waged by the media?

The formula has been used so often in recent years that it can be described in some detail. Quite often the initial proposition is put forward by a single well-known correspondent for one of the component members of the media elite. Thus David Halberstam of the *New York Times* made the alleged corruption (and hence moral insupportability) of the Diem regime in South Vietnam his specialty. Joseph Lelyveld of the same newspaper has similarly become (though to some extent sharing the role with J. Anthony Lukas) the chief U.S. journalistic critic of South Africa. More recently Alan Riding, again writing for the *Times*, served as the leading journalistic apologist for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua (as Herbert Matthews had done for Castro, 20 years earlier).

Other components of the media elite have played similar roles, but the

Times does seem to specialize in the foreign field. The *Washington Post*, for example, was widely credited with having initiated the Watergate disclosures that culminated in President Nixon's resignation. And the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) has recently sought, not altogether successfully, to taint the U.S. military with accusations that it falsified enemy order of battle estimates during the Vietnam war. On the other hand, the *Times* does not by any means confine its services to liberalism to the field of foreign policy: It was a *Times* reporter, Seymour Hersh, whose by-line articles on the alleged misdeeds of the CIA (about 40 successive page-one by-line articles, by my count) so severely crippled that organization in and after 1975.

In any case, once the theme is chosen and launched, it is repeated with only minor variations time and time again. The excellent little publication *AIM*, counting the articles in the *Washington Post* during 1980 alone on the subject of human rights violations, found none about such violations in North Korea, 48 about Communist China — and 84 about South Korea. In the same year, the corresponding figures for the *New York Times* were two articles on human rights in North Korea, 111 on Communist China — and 154 on South Korea.

In the case of the electronic media, the same saturation technique is used. "Special reports" on topics the media want to highlight are duplicated with minor variations. To take a recent illustration from the field of domestic economic policy, the evening news programs of the three major commercial networks seemed to consist of little, during the entire year 1981, but repetitive accounts of how President Reagan's economic program would injure one segment of the

population after another. In the foreign field, the effect of close-up television coverage of the Vietnam war is well known. And we are even now seeing, in the television news accounts of the human suffering in Beirut, an almost equally obvious attempt to influence American public opinion against the policy of Israeli Prime Minister Begin.

Once the chosen theme is widely enough publicized, the rest of the liberal media — including now not merely the elite but the smaller newspapers and local television stations, as well as columnists and journals of opinion — take up the cry, in what has been called “the echo-chamber effect.” The theme is soon resonating from coast to coast, and begins to be reflected in the public opinion polls. This evidence of public sentiment in turn activates the politicians: There will often be a call for some sort of Congressional action on the matter — hearings, or a law, or an appeal to the president. One or more of these may actually come into being. Not at all infrequently, American policy — including our foreign policy — is affected as a result. Literally dozens of governments elsewhere in the world have fallen, or been severely shaken, by the impact of such media techniques on U.S. foreign policy.

At the end, there are often Pulitzer Prizes or other semi-official honors for the individuals and organizations in the media that have achieved these results.

If there is one semi-hopeful aspect to

this account, it is that conservatives in the media appear, at last, to be developing the ability to counter these liberal journalistic barrages to some degree. We do not — yet — have the control of the organs of the media elite that would enable us to produce comparable affirmative results; but every so often we do manage to prevent some liberal triumph that not long ago would have been inevitable.

One example, apparently, is the very recent controversy within the Reagan administration over the so-called “Shanghai II Communique.” I say “apparently” because, as of this writing, the later stages of the struggle are still under way. But as of now it at least seems likely that concerted conservative efforts in the media — in conservative journals, and through conservative figures in the Reagan administration and on Capitol Hill, have prevented the issuance by Washington and Peking of a second “Shanghai Communique” that would have pushed the United States much further along the road to denying Taiwan needed arms. This is an important victory.

To conclude, then, there is simply no question but that the media have a powerful influence on U.S. foreign policy. It is a strongly liberal influence, although recently conservatives in and out of the media have begun to counter it to considerable effect. My own expectation is that such conservative influences are likely to increase in the foreseeable future.

Prospects for a Regional News Agency

James Wei

It is indeed a great honor and pleasure for me to address this distinguished gathering on the subject of establishing a regional news agency in the Asian-Pacific area. As a matter of fact, the problem of forming regional news agencies has been discussed in many areas of the world since the 1960s. So far, nothing concrete has emerged. This shows that the establishment of a regional news agency free of political propaganda is a difficult and complex task.

LESSON OF OANA

OANA, the Organization of Asian News Agencies, was founded in January, 1962, by 12 leading agencies to promote professional contacts and technical cooperation. The Central News Agency of China in Taipei (CNA) was a founding member. OANA's charter stipulates that the organization should promote common interests and enhance the free flow of information. But OANA has not advanced to the point where it can operate a full-fledged news agency to serve mass media of the Asian-Pacific region.

Members of OANA are mostly state news agencies. Its weakness is mainly

professional as well as financial. It has been receiving financial support from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for routine expenses and the convening of general meetings.

In the late 1960s, the Kyoto News Agency of Japan provided financial support to OANA to carry out two projects. One is the establishment of a permanent secretariat in Jakarta. The other is to provide equipment so that OANA could pick up news broadcasts of the member agencies, process them in Jakarta and rebroadcast them Asia-wide. The nature of these news broadcasts, however, may not be entirely in accord with the spirit of free ideology or freedom from propaganda that is the OANA ideal.

Japan has gained important influence in OANA. Through the Kyoto News Agency, Japan played a key role in ousting the Republic of China's from OANA in 1979 at the request of the Chinese Communists. UNESCO has been "playing politics" in its support to OANA.

The U.N. agency has not been friendly to this country and its actions leaned toward the left in many respects. UNESCO

played on the financial weakness of OANA to exert influence in Asia. By 1973, after the withdrawal of the Republic of China from the U.N., UNESCO came under the political pressure of the Chinese Communists and was instrumental in the ouster of the Central News Agency of China from OANA.

The fourth general assembly of OANA voted to restrict membership to news agencies from member countries of UNESCO. I attended that meeting on behalf of CNA and did my best to persuade members that the sole purpose of the amendment was to expel CNA. My effort was doomed to failure because OANA wanted to admit the New China News Agency of Communist China.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS EXCHANGE

The Philippines has been interested in regional cooperation among Asian mass media. In 1962, the First Asian Press Conference was held in Manila. In 1977, the International News Exchange (INEX) was set up in the Philippines. According to Mr. Mariano R. Logarta, managing director of INEX, the organization is a privately supported news agency dedicated to the "propagation of progress and development in Third World Countries." Its proposed membership of 33 includes the United States, Spain, and some Latin American and Middle Eastern countries. Yugoslavia, an Eastern European country, is on the list. The Central News Agency was contacted by INEX and asked to exchange public information with the Philippines. CNA is still studying this matter.

A DIFFICULT TASK

Since the early 1960s, the developing

nations have been clamoring for the establishment of regional news agencies. Nationalism is involved. Many developing nations in Asia and Africa complain that leading Western news agencies have "monopolized" news and "overlooked the interests" of developing countries. Their reporting is said to show bias against the developing nations, especially when a clash of interests between Western powers and the Third World is involved. It is argued that developing nations should have their own regional news agencies.

As a man who has spent quite a few years in this business, I have to admit this is easier said than done. In establishing a full-fledged news agency, a huge outlay of capital and the recruitment of a large number of competent professionals are required. Are the developing nations ready to do this?

The quality of service must be considered. Any news agency worthy of the name must supply an up-to-date and objective news service to its clients. Objectivity is the key word of modern news agency operation. The leading Western agencies, especially such worldwide service as AP, UPI, Reuters and AFP, are usually objective. They have established their reputation with clients all over the world. Objectivity serves not only journalistic ethics but self-interest. These news agencies would commit suicide if they twisted the facts in favor of narrow national interests.

On this point, I would frankly raise the question of whether the developing nations, most of which are highly nationalistic, can report events maturely and objectively when national interests are involved. Suppose several developing countries pool their resources to form a regional agency. It is natural to assume that their own interests will be jealously

guarded. When a conflict of interest arises, it is difficult to expect objective reporting. This is one of the reasons why regional news agencies have remained paper projects.

I was a news agency man myself for several years. I know agencies have become very expensive to operate these days as a result of expensive mass transmission facilities and worldwide inflation. One reputable and well established international agency has encountered serious financial problems. The UPI was a giant of the business in the fifties and sixties but faced insurmountable financial difficulties in the late seventies and early eighties. Can a regional news agency organized by developing nations do better than UPI?

Any Asian regional news agency would have to be initiated by governments, or by existing news agencies supported by states. For this kind of venture, I would like to advise them to augment their financial resources. The initial investment is not likely to last long. There must be backup capital investment. Failing to provide such reserves, it would be better to arrange bilateral exchanges of information and avoid the grandiose project of a regional news agency.

I must emphasize that this is a word of caution and not of discouragement. There is need for a regional news agency in the Asian and Pacific region to serve its long-range common interest. There may be similar needs in Africa and Latin America. But the interested parties

should agree on basic principles and operational procedures. Professionalism and objectivity are required in the operation of any successful news agency. If the establishment of a regional news agency reflects the wish of the people in this area, the two sponsoring bodies of this convention can play an important role in serious and responsible planning devoid of political propaganda.

The Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union and Asian-Pacific Cultural Center could engage in a broad exchange of views with newspapers and radio and television stations of the region to sound out their views. In other words, a feasibility study could be undertaken to determine the need and prospects of success before a regional news agency is launched. An Asian-Pacific news agency manned by highly trained, level-headed, and selfless personnel could benefit this region tremendously. We would gain the respect of the rest of the world in such an undertaking. Where there is a will there is a way. But sound planning and adequate preparations are essential.

The Asian and Pacific region is the fastest growing area in the world. Economic growth is rapid. The mass media are growing by leaps and bounds. Some of them are already among the largest in the world. In this environment, I have guarded optimism that if we approach the problem of a regional news agency honestly, we can find a solution sooner or later. I sincerely hope I can give you a more promising report on this subject in the future.

An Inquiry into the Dynamics of Mass Communication Media in Cultural Exchange

Jin-Hwan Oh

INTRODUCTION

The influence of mass communication on cultural diffusion has become one of the hottest issues in the second half of the 20th century. With the recent proliferation of communication media and methods, mass communication now plays an immensely active role in the exchange and adaptation of cultural values within and between countries. Historically, the mass media have changed their faces according to population and technological development. At the outset of the 1980's, mass communication has changed its quality and quantity in pattern, method, content, and utilization. The goals of mass communication and its media gradually have changed from that of a simple concept of communication channel within a society to the main track of cultural and social life.

Mass communication media today do

not provide a mere means of communication within a society but also an identifiable cultural system in and of itself. It differs from 19th century journalism and early 20th century radio communication. It differs not only from 1950 but also from the last decade and even from last year. Particularly, these changes have been the most dramatic in the developing countries in the last two decades. I would say it is actually a communication revolution we have experienced in the 1960's and 1970's.

Mass communication has played the one most important role in changing patterns of lifestyle in Korea, China, Japan, and southeast Asian countries, as well as in other countries. In the case of Korea, the number of television sets increased from a few thousand in 1962 to 7.3 million in 1982. A luxurious home treasure became the most beloved of household necessities with a place of

*I hope with this paper to raise questions and to promote inquiry and discussion of some very important problems now caused by the worldwide growth of mass communication media and its cross-cultural effects.

honor in the living room. It is very difficult to imagine removing the television set from the Korean family. In practical terms the television set is now distributed to every Korean home, one television set for every 5.3 persons. In this time, also, the circulation of daily newspapers has tripled: and, more specifically, we can distinguish six national daily newspapers, three foreign language dailies, two economic, one sports and entertainment daily, and ten local newspapers in Korea. A number of newspapers have consolidated, but circulation has increased. Trade journals have become much more popular, taking strong root in Korea; and advertising agencies have now established themselves as strong businesses. A new mass communication atmosphere is developing in industrializing societies bringing with it both rewards and problems.

Human beings have never experienced such an extreme change in social communications before. The new booming growth of mass communication is often quite painful in many countries and demands both social adjustments and direct social attention by responsible leaders. The problem is that of the dynamics, function, and effects of mass communication, considering its new situations and prospects. Throughout the communication revolution in the Asian-Pacific region, mass communication media have, as I stated before, established themselves not only as communication systems within the societies but also as vital opinion and culture formers and as the creators of new concepts regarding social activity and the real life of mankind.

Furthermore, mass communication media have truly become an integral part of society. Mass communication media

have become so active and powerful that they are altering ethical systems in their impact on all peoples. The mass communication systems play a supremely important role in opinion forming, using social dynamics to move and change society. Many people have thought of mass communication as the agent of cultural exchange, but today, we have to reexamine this concept because, while mass communication acts as an agent of change, it also functions as cultural life itself. It is time to think anew about mass communication and to inquire about the value concepts underlying mass communication operations in post-industrialized society and in those countries approaching this type of society. The whole of mass communication activities has to be re-analyzed and re-conceptualized for better understanding of how to utilize communications for the welfare of the people of a region and for mankind as a whole.

In cultural exchange another problem rises from a second type of communication problem. It exists in the flow of communication from the more technologically advanced countries to developing countries. Communication is hierarchically disseminated through the media networks of the bigger countries. UNESCO brought up this problem expressing concern about "imbalance and inequality" of international communication and called for 1983 to be "International Communication Year." This focus is part of an international trend toward understanding the significance and importance of communication today.

HISTORY OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND FLOW

There were many paths of cultural

exchange in the past but the interesting thing is that the flow of cultural exchange has always been essentially unidirectional from the higher culture to the lower culture or from the advanced country to the less developed country. We can find a paradigm in the examples of ancient Egyptian, Hellenic, and Roman Empires in the West and in the Chinese Empire in the East. This sort of cultural flow appeared in the Middle East and in India as well. The avenues of cultural flow depended upon the people who travelled: merchandisers, missionaries, armies, scholars, seamen, and visitors. Culture was transmitted and then it melted slowly down into the local civilization.

In addition, people assessed another civilization through merchandise from the other country. From shipbuilding skill to modern computer technology new ideas have flowed into less developed countries like water flowing to the lowlands. As a technology developed, the necessary terminology grew out of the language of that country in which the technology developed. For instance, Korean printers still use Japanese technical jargon even though 37 years have passed since Japan dominated publication processes in Korea.

This kind of situation has become much more crucial in recent years. When a country imports a new industrial complex or television station the training of staff follows. Once the staff gains new expertise including a foreign terminology, they apply this new knowledge to their lives, imposing a strong influence on the growing younger generation. What amounts to a kind of cultural and technological imperialism now pushes forward not on any theoretical base but sometimes haphazardly and sometimes in a pragmatic technical mode based on

hopes of direct profit. Certainly when Japanese teams train T.V. technicians and production personnel from other Asian countries in the name of cooperation, they can reasonably expect to export ever greater quantities of electronic equipment as a result.

Since most major mass communication facilities, whether electronic or print, are controlled by profit-directed entrepreneurial groups, the first purpose in their development is that of selling something to someone. The U.S. and Russia now are the strongest forces in international mass communication. This began with dissemination of American motion pictures in the 1930's and 40's and burgeoned with the spread of T.V. in the 50's and 60's. Many developing countries are merely following the leader in an essentially noncritical way. After satellite communication systems worked on a global basis in the 1970's, the concept of a global village based on communications was realized.

We all have to come to a comprehensive understanding of this situation, first heard of but now experienced everywhere, which is creating a new communication reality. How can we re-conceptualize the idea of "communication" to accommodate its new reality? How can we use it to the best benefit of all?

After satellite communication systems narrowed the time barrier for trans-continental transmission of messages, mass communication media became the dominant vehicles of cultural exchange. Mass communication media and their messages now play an overwhelming role in cultural exchange and its flow. Electronic communication equipment broadcasts foreign programs on television; video and audio tapes and computers

assist fast and accurate flow of information. Radio covers the whole world using all the various foreign languages. Magazines, books, newspapers, and journals of the print media have also become most important foreign information sources.

Thinking about communication and cultural influences has traditionally been geographical and historical rather than mechanical but current mass media techniques have been changing the situation quickly. This electro-mechanical change now seems to dominate life styles and even spiritual and ethical standards.

Today, people, merchandise, and mass communication have become the three main channels of cultural exchange activities. There are few countries, if any, that can meet all their needs by themselves. Most of the people of the world depend upon one another for information and goods. In the exchange process, there are major problems because the flow is so often not an exchange but has the character of a one-way flow.

Cultural interchange is inescapable in open societies and is a basic need for industrial development. Vitalization with new information and knowledge is essential. But there must be a gatekeeper of some kind in each culture for the benefit and welfare of its people. This does not mean closing the country but carefully selecting the information to be distributed through mass communication media. Almost every country in the world manages this kind of information control in at least some minimal way. In past years, mass communication media have been farther ahead in distributing information from other countries than in improving their own country's living conditions. This has brought both good and bad results.

Now, many countries use the same refrigerators, television sets, air conditioners, cars, electric utilities, blue jeans, shoes, furniture, etc. Current materialistic uniformity is amazing. The way of living in similar geographical areas becomes ever more similar. But the way of thinking of these peoples is different in many ways. Heterogeneous ways of thinking are embedded in a superficially homogeneous way of living. Because Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan and Korea are going forward from a similar culture base and have similar levels of economic development, they should cooperate in developing communication and entertainment projects which will serve the best interests of the peoples of the region.

ROLES OF MASS COMMUNICATION IN CULTURAL EXCHANGE

There are numerous roles and functions mass communication may play in cultural exchange. But it can be narrowed down into three important considerations in the process: Gatekeeping, Formulating, and Adjusting. Some of the functions of communication in the contemporary situation are information, socialization, motivation, education, cultural promotion, entertainment, integration, debate and discussion, etc. Cultural exchange is the conceptual formulation that refers to the many ways in which countries change their patterns of culture. External factors such as cultural domination by another country, or exchange of cultural programs may bring about change.

At this point, we have to look at some basic questions: (1) What are the internal or external factors that generate shifts in rates and types of cultural change and exchange? (2) What are the processes by

which cultural change and exchange take place? (3) What models and methods are now available for the study of cultural change and exchange? (4) How is the concept of cultural exchange related to the closely associated phenomena of diffusion, innovation, evolution, acculturation, and nativism? It is difficult, and may be impossible, to achieve any easy generalizations concerning the primacy of factors that generate significant shifts in rates and types of cultural change and exchange. Aside from one's theoretical viewpoints, one may insist on amounts of energy, or ecology as factors, or on religious ideology. But the agents of changing culture are people, goods, and mass communication. Among them, mass communication is the most prominent agent to carry messages from one country to another.

Once we believed that mass communication was an information system that could serve society for better operation in order to get the society to move. In the 1960's Korea's modernization was directly dominated by governmental policy. In the 1970's we sent great numbers of people to foreign countries for experience that could be applied to Korea's development program and welcomed the influence of modern communication media. Now in the 1980's, we perhaps need a stabilization period to adjust to the physical, mental, and spiritual effects wrought by such rapid and massive input into our native system.

We in Korea are very concerned about the influence of mass communication media on the young. After all, in all our countries, we are right now educating those children who will be our future leaders in the 21st century. Their education is not confined only to the

school room and sports field. It is all around them in the totality of their environment. There are those who are ill prepared to adjust themselves to the new communications environment even though they believe they are prepared. In the last two decades, we witnessed how information disseminated from the mass communication media accelerated change among people in their clothes, foods, and housing, even in fact, in the area of sports. Since the introduction of professional baseball and its televised performances in Korea, it seems everybody everywhere is glued to the face of a TV set when the professional teams play. What effect is this having on a sports-active society? Is it decreasing the amount of vital exercise formerly enjoyed by our population? What kind of effect will this have on social cohesiveness and competition in Korea? Will it have significant psychological and health implication for the society?

Patterns of internal communication have also changed. Since mass communication reaches most population directly, the role of the opinion leader has decreased and people have become more atomized within the communication processes. People are not listening to their opinion leaders today but they are confirming their information with others. Thus a type of new society is being born. Because mass communication plays an ever more significant role in this new society and have become itself an integral part of our daily life, it forms opinions and trends with great speed. Once the direction is set, mass media can accelerate the atmosphere of change with dynamic force. Perhaps mass culture as an accelerating force can induce people to work harder and faster. It certainly can set directions of opinion and create

commercial demand and this stimulates socio-economic motion in a society.

How can we come to a more comprehensive understanding of this powerful new influence, first heard of but now experienced everywhere in our region, which is creating a new reality? Even the use of American style living-room furniture changes physical and social relationships in the Korean family. For instance, how can one bow to the floor with respect for a grandfather from a Western style couch with a coffee table in front of it? The electronic and mass print media are making much deeper inroads than just this into our families, our socio-economic, and our ethical systems. What can we accept? What should we reject, and how can we reject any part of this massive influence?

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

It is difficult to project the future of mass communication because, basically, mass communication develops not within a theoretical frame but by rapid technological advancement. Particularly in the field of electronic communication, technological development has run far ahead of any theoretical base. That means mass communication is largely being developed by engineers rather than by journalists or communicators. This situation makes it difficult for anyone to imagine the future of communication in

long-run terms. Notwithstanding this sort of difficulty, we can imagine and try to project for a few years ahead. We may expect that electronic equipment will become yet lighter, more refined, and more sophisticated in its applications. Science and industry are eager to produce even more new communication facilities.

In cultural exchange, we may expect yet more communication and requests for ever more comprehensive accurate and rapid communication facilities. Technology will certainly continue entirely to lead mass communication practice unless some serious reconceptualizing and planning takes place. What new approaches can we take to solve the problems in this important field? It may be well to think about formal study groups on mass media in the Asian-Pacific region especially with cultural exchange in mind. These organizations could lead to programming designed specifically for the Asian-Pacific region at both organizational and practical levels.

The Asian-Pacific region must try to achieve balanced organization of its mass communication facilities in order to develop truly significant input into the mass communication media in our part of the world for the cultural enrichment of our own peoples and for the coherent development of our cultures in those directions we feel are desirable for our peoples.

The Role of Mass Media for Cultural Exchange in the Asian-Pacific Region

Chung Woo Suh

I. INTRODUCTION

Culture is sum total of the learned behaviors of a group of people.¹ It encompasses knowledge, experience, meaning, belief, attitude, value, religion, concept of self, concept of universe, the relationship between self and universe, hierarchical order, role expectation, spatial relations, and time concept which have been both gained and inherited through generations by individual and collective efforts.

It is, in sum, living itself in the broadest sense of the word. Living is largely a matter of communicating. People communicate from morning till night, particularly in the modern world, where most people make their living communicating. When communication is not their principal line of work, it is still a principal part of their life.²

In modern society different people communicate in different ways, as do people in different societies around the world; the way people communicate is the way they live. It is their culture. Thus, communication and culture are

inseparable.³

Mass media provide the channel of mass communication and mass communication is one type of communication. Mass media as the most important channel of communication in modern world, thus, plays an important role in the matter of culture, including cultural exchange, in Asian-Pacific region.

With this premise the present paper touches on the following areas:

- 1) Why do the Asian-Pacific region need cultural exchange?
- 2) What are some of the principal roles of mass media for cultural exchange in the region?
- 3) How can the cultural exchange in the region be effectively promoted through mass media?
- 4) What are the future prospects of cultural exchange in the region?

II. WHY CULTURAL EXCHANGE?

The ultimate goal of mankind is the realization of humanity and peace on earth. But the world where we live at present is divided and distrusted with

conflict, misunderstanding, stereotypes, national interest and ideology. Even if we are living in the so-called global village physically due to the rapid development of communication and transportation technologies, our minds are prejudiced, biased and distorted.

It is a general understanding that international politics and international economics have failed to achieve the ultimate goal of peace and humanity. We are searching for an alternative approach to that goal.

Cultural approach can be an alternative. As discussed earlier, culture is human living itself and communication is the nerve system of human life. Cultural approach, therefore, can be defined as human approach, living approach, or communication approach. In other word, cultural approach is an inter-cultural communication approach. Cultural exchange is the most important part of intercultural communication.

Asian-Pacific culture is not one universal and general culture. It has a variety of different, particular and specific cultures in it. There are Asian culture and Pacific culture, developed culture and developing culture, modern culture and traditional culture, dominant culture and dependent culture, ideology-colored culture and ideology-free culture, and indigenous culture and foreign imported culture.

These diverse cultures have to be exchanged and understood, not invaded and influenced, to increase cultural variety and dynamism, one important index to cultural development. Cultural chauvinism, closeness and superiority complex are the most serious impediments to cultural growth and stability.

In the Asian-Pacific region there are several divided countries which used to be

one nation both politically and culturally. South and North Korea and the two Chinas are the cases. These countries have been suffering serious cultural setbacks due to the national division caused by the difference of political ideology. Cultural exchange between parts of these two countries can be a potential and feasible approach not only to restore the cultural setbacks but to achieve national unification in the long run.

In the Asian-Pacific region, there have been persistent controversies over so-called cultural imperialism, cultural flunkysim, cultural colonialism, cultural dependency, and global mass culture phenomena. The so-called cultural universalism vs. particularism also has been a heated argument in the region. Effective cultural exchange can be one measure to mitigate these problems facing the Asian-Pacific region.

Studies on international news flow⁴ generally conclude that (1) the flow of news among nations is thin, (2) it is unbalanced with heavy coverage of a few highly developed countries and light coverage of many less-developed ones, (3) it tends to ignore important events, (4) it tends to distort the reality it presents. It is more disturbing that Asian-Pacific news organizations devote most space to developed countries and least space to their neighboring countries.

In addition mass media devote least coverage to cultural matters. According to an IPI study, cultural news was the subject of less than one per cent of the foreign news report, the least covered news area among 14 categories. News of education and of scientific and technical developments, taken together, occupied two per cent of the report. Religious news got a little more than three per cent.

These facts raise an important question

for the mass media in the Asian-Pacific region in connection with the role of mass media for cultural exchange in the region.

III. ROLE OF MASS MEDIA: ASIAN PERSPECTIVE

Mass media and culture are mutually interactive in the total system of society. In other word, the form and content of culture influence the characteristics and content of mass media and reversely, the characteristics and content of mass media have impact on the form and content of culture in the society.

Therefore, mass media must be considered as something more than a simple channel for cultural exchange when we discuss the role of mass media for cultural exchange.

1. Positive Functions of Mass Media

(1) Mass media transmit cultural heritages through generations, thus contributing to the establishment of the nation's cultural tradition and identity.

(2) Mass media contribute to cultural growth by introducing and digesting effectively various foreign cultures on the basis of traditional indigenous culture.

(3) Mass media contribute to cultural "ethicizing" and education by surveying, evaluating, and prescribing the current state of culture.

(4) Mass media help people to socialize themselves in society. Socialization means learning cultural norms, customs, values, and traditions through symbolic interactions.

(5) Mass media provide cultural entertainment for the mass and high culture programs for the attentive public.

2. Negative Functions of Mass Media

(1) Mass media contribute to the pervasive environment of mass culture, thus negatively influencing balanced growth of high culture.

(2) Mass media contribute to the so-called cultural imperialism, flunkeyism, colonialism, and dependency by importing uncritically various foreign cultures. This negative function of mass media tends to obstruct the healthy growth of traditional culture, thus hurting the nation's cultural identity.

(3) Mass media contribute to the cultural conflict and animosity among different subcultures by presenting the reality irresponsibly.

(4) Mass media contribute to the so-called rising revolution of expectation and frustration.

(5) Mass media contribute to cultural escapism, conformism, apathy, and anomia.

3. Role of Mass Media

(1) Mass media have an important role to play in the successful inheritance and development of their traditional indigenous culture, thus providing the nation's cultural pride and identity to the people.

(2) Mass media must have a strong sense of cultural responsibility when they import and accept foreign cultures. Foreign cultures are importable only when traditional culture has the ability to cope with them.

(3) Mass media must contribute to the effective management of the people's want and expectation through responsible, meaningful and trustworthy presentation of foreign events.

(4) Mass media must diffuse extensively such desirable cultural norms and values as honesty, hardworking, fairness, courtesy, empathy, achievement motivation, rationality, and effectiveness and persuade the people to accept them for national development.

(5) Mass media must pay more attention to the Asian-Pacific culture and its universalism and particularism.

(6) Mass media must contribute to eliminating cultural biases, prejudices, and stereotypes existing not only within a country but among nations in the region.

(7) Mass media must have a sense of historic mission to help solve culturally the current state of political divisions existing in both China and Korea.

IV. HOW TO PROMOTE CULTURAL EXCHANGE THROUGH MASS MEDIA?

1. *Exchange of Media Personnel*

As stated earlier, people-speaking-to-people is one of the most effective approaches to cultural exchange. Among the people, mass media men are the special agents for cultural exchange because they are professionally equipped to promote cultural exchange through reporting and interpretation.

The exchange of media personnel includes several forms such as training, reporting, seminar participation, research, and travelling on each of the occasions. Special consideration has to be given to the media personnel, particularly in the areas of facilities for travel, visas, residence permits, foreign exchange fares, lodging, and admissions to museums and other establishments.

2. *Exchange of Media Contents*

Media contents include articles, programs, films, video, records, books, and other audio-visual materials. The exchange of media contents has been most required in the areas of traditional culture of each nation and general culture of the Asian-Pacific region.

As in the case of media personnel, the governments must give special consideration to the media materials, particularly in the areas of customs, taxation, trade and administrative regulations and copyright, because they are not commercial goods primarily. Computer and communication satellites can be an important channel for the exchange of such cultural materials and data.

3. *Effective Use of Regional Organizations*

There are several regional organizations such as Organization of Asian News Agencies (OANA) and Asian Broadcasting Union (ABU). They can be utilized more actively and effectively for the exchange of either media personnel or media contents as in the case of Western Europe.

The establishment of a regional cultural center in the heart of the Asian-Pacific region may be recommendable for some coordination functions not only among national mass media but among mass media, cultural and other related activities taking place in the region.

4. *Professionalism and Responsibility of Mass Media*

Mutual understanding and good will among nations in the region can only be realized through effective cultural exchange which, in turn, can be possible through professional and responsible mass communication. Thus, professionalism

and responsibility of media personnel is the key to the realization of understanding and goodwill among peoples.

In intercultural reporting, news stories must be easy, interesting, readable, understandable, and interpretative. Pictorial presentation is one way to convey different cultures understandably. Responsibility and ethical regulation are particularly needed in intercultural communication because national stereotypes, biases, and prejudices are all at stake.

5. Cultural Education Through Mass Media

Generally people are not very much interested in cultural matters, both domestic and foreign. People's low interest in cultural matters can be partly attributable to the low coverage of the area by mass media. This is a kind of vicious circle.

Mass media are the strongest instruments for social education in modern world. Therefore, mass media hold the key to improving the current situation along with the school education particularly for new generations.

V. FUTURE PROSPECTS OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

The future prospects for cultural exchange through mass media in the

Asian-Pacific region are generally bright for the following reasons:

1. Historically Asia is the most "cultural" continent in the world. Among many culturally-indebted nations, China and India have been outstanding. This long and brilliant tradition and heritage of culture in the region will provide a definite basis for cultural exchange among nations.

2. Mass media in the region are making a slow but steady progress. Among many industrial countries, Japan and Australia are prominent in mass media development. Therefore, these advanced countries are expected to play an important role for cultural exchange in the region.

3. General economic situation is improving slowly and social stability is being restored in the region. But political ideology and historical animosity remain to be the most serious impediments to cultural exchange in some parts of the region. Ideology affects Korea and China most seriously while historical animosity affects most badly the Korea-Japan relationship and India-Pakistan relationship.

In conclusion, cultural exchange is one realistic approach to not only mutual understanding but to problem-solving in the Asian-Pacific region. Mass media hold the most important key to that goal.

NOTES

1. K. S. Sitaram. "Intercultural Communication: The What and Why of It." paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1970.
2. Alfred G. Smith, ed., *Communication and Culture*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966, pp. 1-10.
3. Ibid.
4. International Press Institute, *The Flow of the News*, Zurich: IPI, 1953; Wilbur Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.

Satellites for Educational and Cultural Exchange in Micronesia

James C. Lange

I. THE SETTING

A vast region of the Western Pacific, commonly known as "Micronesia," covers three million square miles (about the size of the continental United States), and contains some 2,200 islands. Located north of the equator, about 1,500 miles east of Manila, and 6,000 miles west of the U.S. mainland, the region has over 250,000 people, representing many diverse cultures, including at least nine distinct ethnic groups. It encompasses the Territory of Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) which, by United Nations agreement, has been administered by the United States since 1947.

The U.N. Trusteeship is soon to be dissolved. Five separate government entities are currently negotiating their future political status. The Northern Marianas have elected to be a Commonwealth of the United States. Guam, an unincorporated territory of the U.S. since 1898, has also opted for commonwealth status in a 1982 plebiscite. Palau and the Marshalls have each set up independent governments. The districts of Kosrae, Ponape, Truk and Yap have

formed the Federated States of Micronesia which anticipates signing a "compact of free association" with the United States. Strains among the member states indicate that the Federation is fragile, and there is some possibility that each state may seek its own separate destiny.

For those not familiar with "Micronesia," the testimony of David Ramarui, as he tried to explain the region to the United States Congress who administer the islands, gives a vivid description:

"Try to imagine what it would be like if we were to flood the entire United States with water and leave only a couple of thousand mountain peaks and hilltops above the level of the water. We would have wiped out all the railroads, all the highways, all the major airports, all the telephone lines, and all of the radio and TV networks. . . Now let us in our imagination pick out about 100 of the larger hilltops and settle them with people, clustering 7,000 in the Los Angeles area speaking French, 2,500 in the Reno area speaking German, 12,000 in the Fargo area speaking Spanish, 9,000 in the Kansas City area speaking Japanese, 10,000 in the Indianapolis area speaking Greek and 10,000 in the Washington, D.C.

area speaking Russian. On the hilltops in between scatter another 65,000 people speaking Dutch, Chinese or Turkish.

Now, by way of giving these people a common language, try to teach them all English as a second language. By way of helping these people travel from place to place, on six of the hilltops scratch out short dirt runways and put in a two-airplane airline. Then toss in about a dozen tramp steamers to go between the smaller islands. And for a communication system, install between those six major population centers a one-channel radio-telephone system, and put in each a low powered public radio station. Finally, move this whole area to the far western Pacific, just above the equator, with its capital about as far away from Washington D.C. as Bombay, India is.

I paint you this imaginary picture by way of trying to convey to you something of the setting in which the Trust Territory Department of Education functions. There are nine major languages native to the people of the territory, each as different from the other as English is from Russian. And there are at least nine, and probably more, distinct cultures and sets of traditions among the people of the territory. Working to achieve a unified, coherent, effective educational system in our setting with its vast stretches of open ocean between population centers, with extremely limited communication facilities, with the diversity of languages and customs, and with very limited funds does present us with problems."

Although Mr. Ramarui's comments are specifically addressed to Micronesia, they highlight problems which our region shares with many others in the Pacific Basin:

1) Thinly populated settlements that are divided by large distances

and/or formidable natural barriers to travel,

2) People of diverse indigenous cultures who want to preserve their heritage, but who also want to compete effectively in the modern world,

3) People who speak the language of government and commerce (English in this case) as a second language,

4) People who are essentially rural, but who are beginning to face the strains of urbanization,

5) People who want and need quality education, but who lack the financial and personnel resources to provide it for themselves due to their small population base,

6) People who traditionally interact face-to-face, who are not print oriented and who have little active experience with radio and television, but who are beginning to be bombarded with mass information media produced outside their cultures which are passively consumed,

7) People who are minority cultures within the geo-political unit they fall under.

These characteristics describe the people and conditions which predominate in the Pacific Islands, but they describe equally well large portions of Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam; not to mention Africa, Alaska, Appalachia, Canada, China, the Caribbean, Finland, India, Latin America, and the southern and western regions of the United States.

II. THE PROBLEM

How does a nation of less than 20,000 souls (which in other places would be thought of as a village, or at best a tribe) cope with these massive physical and cultural difficulties? One answer, of course, is through regional cooperation among those with mutual interests.

However, before two peoples or groups can cooperate, they must know one another and be able to communicate.

As in many colonial areas, the governing metropole has not seen such contact and cooperation in its own interest, and has failed to lay any groundwork for it. Many African nations have bemoaned the fact that a telephone call to the adjacent country must be routed through London and Paris because the cable system was designed to serve the colonizing country and not the colony. Similarly, a telephone call from Truk to Ponape — 400 miles to the west — goes via high-frequency radio through Saipan (the headquarters of the American Trust Territory Government) which lies about 800 miles to the east. To telephone Yap from Guam, one goes through a local switchboard to the RCA switchboard, from there to Saipan via satellite, from the Saipan terminal a local switchboard passes the call to the Trust Territory switchboard, where it is further connected by a high-frequency radio patch to a switchboard in Yap. Naturally, such telephone traffic is beset by static, echo and break-up which precludes all but the most pressing business. It is "common knowledge" that one can't talk to other islands, so very few ever try.

Only a dozen or so of the islands of the Western Pacific have regularly scheduled airline service, and only three of these have daily service. The routes are fairly lucrative for the airlines, with Guam-Palau return-ticket (700 miles) costing US\$450. The passenger seats are almost always full and the freight compartment is chock-a-block with commercial shipments. As a result, mail service in the region is extremely spotty. Even the regional capitals have only marginal mail service — Guam-Truk

mail often takes two weeks, if it gets through at all. Of course, many of the outer islands are served by packet boats which call monthly or less often.

Radio and television do not even attempt to fill the gap. Only Guam makes any serious attempt at local production, which consists almost exclusively of rock-and-roll radio, Guam news and local commercials. Guam cable TV brings in programs from Los Angeles and San Francisco, which it also pipes to Saipan, along with Guam news, and it has recently begun to add some local Saipan news as well. The television and radio in Palau, Truk and Ponape do not make any serious attempt to provide local, much less regional coverage, due to a lack of equipment and personnel trained to operate it. *The Pacific Daily News*, published by the giant Gannett chain from the United States, concentrates almost solely on Guam, though they will include regional news when they get their hands on it. As the only daily newspaper in the region, it circulates — days late — to create a usually irrelevant agenda. Although Micronesia lies far closer to Japan and the Philippines than to the U.S., our residents usually know more about what is happening in San Diego and Houston than in Manila or Tokyo.

III. THE GOAL

While improved communication, by itself, will not solve a single problem in the region, it is the only input which will allow the region to find its own solutions. Of course, GEOSYNCHRONOUS SATELLITE COMMUNICATION is an ideal solution to cover a wide geographical region on a continuing basis.

The Pacific Basin has been using NASA's ATS-1 satellite for cooperative

efforts since 1971, when the PEACESAT network began. Over the past decade, this network has conducted hundreds of formal and informal exchanges of educational, cultural and scientific programs. In 1972, the University of the South Pacific (USP) began to use the satellite in its extension programs. In 1973, the Trust Territory government began using the satellite for internal communication on the DISP-NET (Department of the Interior Satellite Project), and this year, Australia began establishing its own network, in addition to participating in the PEACESAT, USP and DISP nets. During the past year there has been a marked increase in the use of slow-scan video, computer link, tele-type and similar enhancements as the networks realized that voice contact alone was neither efficient nor adequate.

The University of Guam will integrate all of these techniques into courses that it will offer via the satellite beginning in September. However, ATS-1 is limited to a single audio channel, is shared by more than 50 separate users, and is scheduled to expire in 1983. Hence, we will need to look for more versatile replacements.

IV. THE OBSTACLES

Both the American administrators and the local officials are aware of the potential for satellite communication, and plan to install Comsat class-B ground stations in each of the state capitals. Guam and Saipan already have ground stations, a construction permit has been approved for Palau, and applications are pending for Yap, Truk, Ponape, Kosrae, Majuro and Ebye. (Just how this construction is to be financed is a sore point in the current atmosphere of Reaganomics

— as the American budgetary austerity for all but military spending is called.) But even after all of the Comsat stations are in place, there is no guarantee that there will be more communication or cooperation in Micronesia.

To be truly useful to the people of Micronesia, any improvement in communication must come in a mode which they can easily use, and at a cost which allows access to units smaller than governments and multi-national corporations. There is serious doubt whether satellite planners and technicians can get out of their traditional rut, which is based on needs and uses of industrialized nations, to meet the new needs of regions like Micronesia. Most satellite communication traffic is conceived of as point-to-point communication between two locations for the transmission of telephone conversations or of data. The concept of broadcasting (point-to-multipoint) also fits easily into the past experience of engineers and planners. But the concept of conferencing (multi-point exchange) is in its barest infancy, and has several technical and human engineering drawbacks.

Technically, interactive multi-point teleconferencing requires bridges and limiters to prevent the conferees from spreading their signal outside of the assigned bandwidth if several try to talk at once. Engineers would rather not take on this design headache. From a human standpoint, multi-point teleconferencing requires a good deal more preparation than a telephone call, if the conferees are not to expose themselves to ridicule as disorganized time-wasters. This extra effort rarely bothers participants, but it often deters planners from even making the attempt.

Furthermore, most of Micronesia has

a non-mediated culture. Communication is largely face-to-face, with little reliance on the word of someone you have not met or do not know, and even less on something written by a stranger. To be effective, communication in Micronesia will require a system that is not only INTERACTIVE (the participants can respond to each other) but VISUAL (they see each other while they talk), which means that effective exchanges will require one-way video as a minimum.

Those who have not experienced video teleconferencing may doubt that the mere addition of moving pictures to a communication link can cause a significant increase in willingness to communicate. However, those who have participated know what a totally distance-collapsing phenomenon it is. It is common for participants to be non-plussed when they realize that the person on the TV screen can't see them nod their heads. . . until that happens it seems EXACTLY like a face-to-face conversation. And, in Micronesian terms, it is only face-to-face conversations that really count.

However, video teleconferencing can be very expensive. While domestic satellites have rates that compare very favorably with the cost of even short distance travel, Intelsat users in the Pacific pay monthly rates of US\$2000 and up for a single audio half-link (from earth to satellite and back; another \$2000 is paid by the station on the other end.) A recent proposal at Intelsat will reduce the rates 25% for multi-user service, but 75% of an awful lot of money is still a lot of money. And these charges are just for audio.

Full-motion video requires 400 or so audio channels — a half-transponder — to carry the signal. RCA, which manages

Guam's terminal, quotes a price of US\$15.00 per minute to send a video signal up to the satellite and any other station in Micronesia that wants to receive the signal pays that price again. To connect six of Micronesia's capitals using this rate structure would mean a cost of \$67.50 per minute, or \$4050 per hour. This is clearly beyond the means of any Micronesian user, INCLUDING governments.

The extreme expense of full-motion video satellite transmission has led to a rejection of this "high-tech" method in favor of less effective alternatives. But the less efficient media create frustration. If they are too inefficient and frustrating, eventually people stop communicating on any but the most pressing of subjects, needs and problems. Thus, inter-island communication is seen as an aggravation in its own right (people get angry when they fail to get their message across after several attempts) and as something only done when things go wrong or when one is angry at someone (note that, for similar reasons, a telegram is something to be feared in almost every culture in the world).

IV. THE SOLUTION

Part of the cost pressure of the necessary visual contact can be reduced by using "compressed" video. Bandwidth compression of full-motion video is a relatively new and rapidly developing technology which codes TV signals so that they can be transmitted using much less transmission space than normal video. One company has developed a method of coding video signals so that they can fit in a 256 kilobit/second data stream, the space of five or six audio circuits, as compared to ordinary video signals which

require the same space as 400 audio circuits.) To lease the six audio channels necessary for an interactive video system (5 for the compressed video and one for audio return) would cost about \$712,800 per year. Assuming 10 usable hours in a day and 300 usable days in a year, the per-hour cost is reduced to \$237.60.

This is still quite high, but there are a number of options in the planning stage which might mean that satellite charges will be drastically reduced. If Micronesia can convince the Intelsat Board (or the courts) that we should fall under the "high-seas" clause in the Intelsat charter commercial rates could drop by a factor of four. (This clause allows locations which are an integral part of a nation, separated from it by ocean, to pay domestic rather than international rates.) Alternatively, Comsat officials have mentioned the possibility that Western Pacific ground stations might use what is now an Intelsat operational spare, at a significant cost reduction. Finally, the Public Service Satellite Consortium is arguing that the region be allowed to use currently vacant Marisat time free of charge.

V. A SAMPLE PROGRAM

Assuming that satellite charges could be reduced to a rational level, there are a myriad of possible exchanges that we see as needed to serve cooperation in Micronesia for educational and cultural development. Once an operational system is in place, many uses, and users, could easily be accommodated on the same equipment and circuits. What follows is an example of just one educational use for interactive video-teleconferencing system.

The Pacific Post-Secondary Education Council (PPEC) is a consortium of all the

post — secondary educational institutions in the U.S. Pacific islands (University of Guam, College of Micronesia, American Samoa Community College, Community College of Micronesia, Community College of the Northern Marianas, Guam Community College, and Micronesia Occupational College). The PPEC was formed in 1979 to enable the member institutions to work cooperatively on identifying common problems, to share educational resources, and to engage in joint planning for improvement of higher education on a regional basis. Due to their small and widely-dispersed population bases, none of the member schools can meet their constituents' demand for post-secondary education. But by working together they can substantially increase the number, quality, cost-effectiveness, and diversity of available programs.

Sharing courses by satellite can offer a larger number of badly needed classes, multiplying the usefulness of scarce experts while reducing the problems associated with importation of temporary, expatriate faculty. Furthermore, a cooperative satellite system can offer courses which would simply not be available at any price, if we were dependent on face-to-face delivery. For example, the University of Guam has not been able to provide many of the classes requested by the Community College of the Northern Marianas for the simple reason that the instructors for these classes were needed on UOG's own campus. Using the satellite connection, the students in Saipan could simply join the regularly scheduled UOG class. Additionally, a leased-line circuit means that member schools can use non-instructional network time for inter-institutional communication which would otherwise

have to go through commercial carriers at commercial rates.

The proposed project will provide a demonstration of:

1) inter-institutional and inter-governmental cooperation to

2) deliver quality higher education programs, through

3) interactive satellite transmission, among

4) faculty and students of many cultures, which is

5) less costly than face-to-face delivery,

6) improves instructors' skills,

7) develops technical expertise in local personnel, and

8) can be replicated by other regional consortia.

This project would allow an instructor conducting a class on one campus to simultaneously teach students on other islands, using two-way satellite tele-conferencing. Students in the distant islands can see the instructor and the visual aids, ask questions and participate in discussions with the on-site students, and send in their assignments via facsimile or word-processor interlinks. Courses can be offered from any campus in the network to all of the other campuses.

A. Project Objectives

1. Establish a system of courses which, though centrally administered, will meet the individual needs of the member regions, with universal recognition of credit from all member schools.

2. Reduce culture shock (inherent when rural and minority students enter more urban, mainstream colleges) by pre-exposure to higher education within the students' home setting, through satellite delivery.

3. Train faculty, librarians, health care personnel, social workers, and business professionals in the use of tele-communication technology.

4. Evaluate an integrated (video, slow-scan, facsimile, and computer link) tele-education system in a multi-cultural environment.

5. Modify program content, delivery methods, and administrative procedures, based upon the in-process evaluations.

B. Expected Achievements

The demonstration will develop and offer 10 courses per semester (three sessions per year), including courses in basic educational skills (mathematics, English, science, etc.), teacher training (educational theory, methods and management), nursing and social work, business and management, agriculture (including extension workshops) and communications (using telecommunication technology), as well as to provide for library and administrative exchanges to support the coursework.

Other specific, measurable goals are to:

1. Document the inter-institutional and inter-governmental cooperation process.

2. Create policies and procedures for mutual exchange of credits which will allow students to build programs from the offerings of several schools.

3. Improve rural and minority students' college success and retention rates by pre-exposure to university tele-courses prior to leaving their home areas.

4. Maintain learning and retention via tele-education at the same, or higher, levels as in face-to-face teaching.

5. Document the cost-effectiveness of satellite tele-teaching where distances are great and faculty resources are scarce.

6. Enroll students in needed courses constituent population.

because they are too costly for an institution to provide solely for its own constituent population.

7. Enroll students in the tele-education courses who have not previously

enrolled, or planned to enroll, in higher education.

8. Improve instruction by faculty adoption of the course planning and teaching techniques used in tele-education courses.

C. Cost

The system needed to reach these goals is not cheap, as the following rough budget indicates.

Personnel

Director	30,000
Chief Engineer	32,000
Tele-trainer/evaluator	36,000
Site Engineers (6)	120,000
Site Coordinators (6)	108,000
Administrative Assistant	18,000
Instructors	75,000

Total Personnel	\$419,000
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Equipment

Compressors (6, on lease)	60,000
Electronic Classrooms (6)	300,000
Maintenance (10% per year)	36,000
Installation	10,000

Classroom equipment includes cameras, audio, mixers, computer, etc.

Equipment Total	\$406,000
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Administration

Course materials (\$500/course)	15,000
Indirect Costs (20% personnel)	76,200
Power (\$300/month/site)	21,600
Supplies (\$2000/site)	12,000

Course materials include the purchase of pre-produced video tapes, production charges, A-V services, and printing course hand-outs.

Total Administration	\$124,800
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Travel

Director	12,000
Chief Engineer	12,000
Tele-Educator	12,000
Site Engineers	5,000
Site Coordinators	5,000

2 visits per semester to all sites for center staff ('\$2000/trip) and 2 annual workshops for site personnel on Guam ('\$2500).

Total Travel	\$46,000
Project Total	\$995,800

Nearly one million dollars seems like a great deal of money to teach 30 courses a year, but current extension programs in the Western Pacific already entail paying astronomical delivery costs. For example, Palau alone paid \$133,996 to bring in 13 instructors in the summer of 1981, for an average of \$5,150 per course. If we assume that classroom equipment is amortized over 6 years, the recurring cost of the satellite system is about \$750,000. With a tuition fee of \$50 per credit, the system generates \$225,000 in tuition, or about 1/3 of the recurring cost of instruction which is not a bad ratio for public education in the United States. Furthermore, the system serves six separate states in Micronesia simultaneously, with inter-transferable credit — a goal that has proved impossible to reach by more traditional means of instruction.

Finally, the system would allow testing of the relatively new concept of a video-interactive classroom in a multi-cultural environment, which — as an academic — I see as more important than all of the other benefits.

D. Research and Evaluation

The evaluation and documentation will not only help PPEC member schools to decide about the future of satellite communication in the Western Pacific; they will aid decisions by other Pacific Basin nations facing similar problems. In addition to documenting the actual project, the evaluation will extrapolate the project experience to larger operational systems, including an analysis of economies of scale. The analysis will include prescriptive advice where it seems warranted by the data.

The evaluation will document and assess:

- 1) the effect of interactive video instruction on student learning and student satisfaction,
- 2) the techniques, use and performance of the interactive "electronic classroom" and the contribution of the individual component technologies,
- 3) the cost-effectiveness of the satellite delivery system as compared with alternative delivery systems,
- 4) the comparative effectiveness of different instructional formats for interactive education via satellite,
- 5) the effectiveness of delivering

education to the home islands in increasing enrollment in higher education,

6) the effectiveness of tele-education in easing the transition from the home-island to the University of Guam or other universities.

7) the effect of the project on the teaching methods of participating instructors,

8) the effect of the network on improved access to library resources,

9) the amount and kind of inter-institutional cooperation needed to operate an inter-active satellite network among several schools in different cultures and political jurisdictions.

VII. OTHER USES

The actual uses to which the proposed interactive satellite video-conferencing system might be put are nearly limitless. Specific choices will have to be made in a forum which includes representatives from government, business and social institutions from every state in Micronesia. However, the Pacific Post-Secondary Education Council members have identified several obvious applications:

1) Medical Referral: The proposed system would allow experts on one island to receive medical data and actually see the patient and his/her physician or nurse, thus allowing advice to pass back and forth in real time.

2) Agricultural Extension: Farmers and agronomists could discuss problems with a simultaneous view of actual plant and soil specimens.

3) Marine Biology: Pictures of actual fish, coral and marine fauna could be discussed in real time, including transmission of computer profiles.

4) Inter-governmental and inter-institutional conferences, which currently cost thousands of dollars in air-fare, could be convened at a fraction of the cost.

Assuming five hours per day for instructional uses and one hour per day for system administration and technical maintenance, the proposed system would still offer one hour per day for each of these additional uses.

VII. THE CONCLUSION

The Communication Department of the University of Guam, along with other members of the Pacific Post-Secondary Council, is convinced that satellite tele-conferencing is a solution to problems well beyond education for certificates and degrees. One of the major objectives of our satellite activities is to act as a catalyst to self-initiated, on-going education of Micronesian residents about themselves and about their brethren in the Pacific Basin. We know that we have common problems, but until we learn how to find and share our common genius, we are condemned either to stew in isolation or to import ill-adapted solutions which cause more problems than they correct.

Obtaining access to geosynchronous satellite circuits for tele-conferencing at an affordable rate is a major first step on the way out of this dilemma.

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The Promotion of Cultural Exchange through Communication

Gin-yao Chi

(漆敬堯)

To promote exchange among different cultures is a concept. How to make the concept become a fact through communication (including mass communication and personal communication) is to be briefly discussed in this paper. What will be presented is just one aspect of the subject.

The people of one culture may know what has happened in other cultures by reading newspapers, listening to radio programs and watching TV shows. From which medium they learn more about others depends upon the functions of different media.

As we all know, different scholars have used different classifications to describe the functions of mass communication media.

Wilbur Schramm maintained earlier that news had two functions: information and entertainment.¹ And he added two more to the media functions basket later: interpretation and instruction (like TV instructional programs).²

William Stephenson in his book entitled *The Play Theory of Communication* described entertainment as "Communication-pleasure." According to him, entertainment is the sole function of mass communication media.³

It is interesting to note that Ralph Lowenstein tried to make a grouping of the "Elements of Emphasis" (of media) which he called (a) news-information, (b) interpretation-comment, and (c) entertainment. He also pointed out the emphasis as follows:⁴

Books:	1. Interpretation,	2. Entertainment,	3. News.
Magazines:	1. Interpretation,	2. Entertainment,	3. News.
Newspapers:	1. News,	2. Interpretation,	3. Entertainment.
Radio:	1. Entertainment,	2. News,	3. Interpretation.
Television:	1. Entertainment,	2. News,	3. Interpretation.
Movies:	1. Entertainment,	2. Interpretation,	3. News.

In this paper, Lowenstein's idea of the media functions will be adopted as a basis to discuss the problems in the promotion of cultural exchange through mass communication media. For convenience' sake, only newspaper, radio and TV will be taken up in our discussion.

In general, the newspapers of any culture have been and are still emphasizing news reporting. However, they have to carry all kinds of news piece by piece daily. Once in a while, some editors of some newspapers use some stories or some features of other cultures, but not always so. Whether these stories will be carried by a newspaper or not depends upon the nature of the news. It may be safe to say that if one makes a content analysis of any newspaper, he will find out that the proportion of the stories on the features of other cultures is not large.

As for radio and TV stations, they have been and are still stressing entertainment programs. Even if they broadcast news programs every day, the news stories are short, scarcely dealing with the cultural aspects of other areas (or cultures).

Based on the above brief analysis, we find it very difficult to promote cultural exchange through news stories printed in the newspapers, and even more difficult through news stories broadcast by radio and TV stations.

To promote cultural exchange through mass communication media does not necessarily mean that the people of one culture can understand other cultures only through the news reporting channel. It may be assumed that the radio and TV personnel can promote cultural exchange by producing entertainment programs instead for their audiences.

To explain this idea, I would like to use one of my unsuccessful personal

adventures as an example.

In 1980, a friend of mine, a professor at Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, U.S.A. came to Taipei. He asked me to cooperate with him in producing short but highly entertaining documentaries on Chinese customs to be utilized by the educational TV stations of some American universities. He hoped that he could promote Sino-American cultural exchange by entertaining those American students going to watch them (the documentaries). He even laid stress on producing short TV dramas, about 15 minutes long each, to transmit Chinese customs to the American audiences. The TV drama titles would include, for instance, how the Chinese people enjoy themselves on the New Year's Eve, how the young Chinese people have their dates... etc.

Due to the shortage of funds, we failed in carrying out our proposed project.

Armed with my past experience, I would like to suggest that some radio and TV stations in free Asia interested in cultural exchange cooperate with one another to produce local music and customs programs for the purpose of exchange. With these programs, they not only entertain their local audiences, but also promote cultural exchange.

Now I am turning to the promotion of cultural exchange through personal communication.

The people of any culture, particularly the less well educated people, may not understand other cultures. However, they have to pass their judgments on the people they are not familiar with by using the "pictures in their heads." To make things simple by the "pictures," they misunderstand the people of other cultures. Academic people call the

"pictures" as "stereotypes" coined by Walter Lippmann.⁵

To make it clear, I would like to describe three anecdotes which have something to do with the "stereotypes."

The first one happened about thirty years ago. As a student in California, U.S.A., I rented a room in an American lady's house. She wrote a letter to her elder sister (about 80 years old at that time) living in Missouri, saying that a Chinese student from Taipei was her renter. Her sister was surprised to know the fact that a Chinese was studying in the United States. The lady living in Missouri thought that the Chinese in America would only be restaurant workers or laundrymen. Her judgment on the Chinese was based entirely on the "pictures" in her head.

The second anecdote took place in 1961 when I was on the way to Europe via the Middle East. All Arab taxi drivers shouted in English "Japanese, taxi?" whenever they saw me. As I understand, many Japanese then travelled widely in the area to do business with the Arabs. This had given most Arab taxi drivers the impression that the Orientals who looked alike would only be Japanese. They just based their judgments on the "pictures in their heads."

The third anecdote occurred when an agricultural team was sent by the Chinese government to Ivory Coast in the late sixties to help the African farmers do farming. When the technicians arrived there, the French-speaking Africans called them "blanc" ("whites" in French). The reason why they did so is that they know only the whites and the blacks living in the world. Their misunderstanding undoubtedly was from the "pictures in their heads."

Some research papers have indicated

that people may change their stereotypes from time to time.⁶ The above three anecdotes may have become less and less significant.

First of all, hundreds and hundreds of Chinese students have studied at different American colleges and universities since 1950, and many of them have settled down in the United States and contacted innumerable Americans there. I am sure that if my landlady's elder sister were alive now, she would have different "pictures in her head" about the Chinese living in America.

Second, many Chinese and Korean construction workers have worked in Saudi Arabia since it started its development projects in the middle of the seventies. Lots of the Arabs living there have come into contact with these two groups of Orientals very often. At least, they have known that the Chinese and the Koreans in addition to the Japanese are from the Far East. When most Arab taxi drivers happen to see a Chinese over there, they may instead shout "Chinese, taxi?"

Third, many agricultural teams have been assigned by the Chinese government to Ivory Coast since late 1960's. The Africans over there who either have or have not contacted the Chinese farming technicians should presumably have known that some races other than the blacks and the whites are living in the world. As a result, many natives in Ivory Coast have called the Chinese "Chinois" ("Chinese" in French).

It may be safe to draw a conclusion from the above brief analysis that the larger the number of the people of a culture contact the people of other cultures, the faster their stereotypes will fade away. Joshua Fishman was right, when he said: "Programs of action

designed to change stereotypic behavior by channeling it along more desirable lines might proceed by accomplishing similar changes with respect to Group B and its orientation toward Group A in the new domain."⁶

Personal communication takes place very often between single individuals or groups of a culture, sometimes also between individuals or groups of two or more cultures. It takes place particularly between communication-partners who share several things in common — for example, a similar level of education, common interests, etc. Undoubtedly the painters in a foreign cultural environment would seek contact with resident painters here, the artists with local fellow-artists and the athletes with native athletes.

The people of a different culture, especially those who share common

interests should from now on try to communicate with one another as much as possible. By so doing, they will know more about what has happened in other cultures and will understand one another more and more. Exchange of visitors, therefore, is one of the ways to promote cultural exchange.

In conclusion, I would like to stress the importance of promoting cultural exchange either through mass communication or through personal communication. As far as the use of mass communication media is concerned, those radio and TV stations in free Asia interested in cultural exchange should produce local music and customs programs for exchange between or among different cultures. As to personal communication, all kinds of people in free Asian ought to try to contact one another and to understand the other cultures.

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Number of Japanese Students Going Abroad to Study

	1978				1979			1980		
	Japanese Government Scholarship	Foreign Govt. Scholarship	Self-Sponsored and Others		Japanese Govt. Scholarship	Foreign Govt. Scholarship	Self-Sponsored and Others	Japanese Govt. Scholarship	Foreign Govt. Scholarship	Self-Sponsored and Others
Total	243	337	11,742		250	324	13,707	249	350	14,270
Asia	37	5	672		32	30	680	32	41	715
Middle and Near East	3	6	35		2	5	25	0	4	31
Africa	8	3	32		7	4	34	9	3	27
Oceania	30	2	380		26	2	283	23	3	256
North America	99	26	7,061		118	29	8,902	122	35	9,548
Latin America	4	104	215		5	104	191	5	106	192
Europe	62	191	3,347		60	150	3,592	58	158	3,510

* Statistics by Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice.

Cultural Exchange through Television: Why Couldn't We Do Better?

Georgette Wang

(汪琪)

The purpose of this paper is to examine the potential role of television in promoting cultural exchange among nations. Taking the case of television broadcasting in the Republic of China (ROC), it examines the direction and nature of program flow. Problems and prospects of conducting cultural exchange through television will also be discussed.

"Culture" in this paper will be broadly defined to include visible objects, e.g., artifacts, invisible qualities, e.g., values, beliefs and life styles, e.g., habits, traditions. "Cultural exchange through television" may reasonably include news flow. The focus of attention here, however, will be on the flow of television programs.

THE FLOW OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS

Television as one of the most important channels for cultural exchange has attracted a great deal of attention in

recent years. What we have observed so far, however, is not encouraging, especially to communication scholars and policy makers in Third World nations. While the international flow of news in general has been a one-way traffic, the flow of television programs on the world market follows the same pattern: from developed to developing nations.

The picture is highly imbalanced. According to Varis (1973), only five nations in the world do not broadcast American television programs: Red China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Albania and Outer Mongolia. U.S. export amounts 100,000 to 200,000 hours a year, making approximately 85 million dollars in 1971, and up to 230 to 240 million dollars in 1977 (Lee, 1980). It was estimated that about 80 percent of the world's television programs were made in the United States. Some of the television stations in developing nations imported up to 80, even 100 percent of their programs. There was, therefore, no real "exchange" through television, but rather a dominance of American television culture.

The implications of such a dissemination pattern have been a matter of major concern to communication scholars. The question is, what is the impact of television programs such as *Hawaii Five-O* and *Bonanza* on audiences in Latin America, Africa and Asia? Many people take a pessimistic viewpoint. They believe that the dominance of American television programs in developing nations would result in continued colonialism and loss of cultural identity. As pointed out in the MacBride report (1980, pp. 30-1), mass media "shape the cultural experience of many millions of people." "[D]ependency on imported models reflecting alien life styles and values," therefore, leads to the danger of losing cultural diversity in our present-day international community. Schiller (1969) suggested that this form of imperialism does not only affect culture, but has economic and military implications as well.

Although few people questioned the dominance of American television programs on the world market, some had different interpretation of its nature and impact. According to Varis (1973), for example, the percentage of imported television programs may be high in some developing nations, but the influence is negligible because of a usually small and limited audience. Salinas and Paldan (1979) rejected the concepts of media imperialism and cultural imperialism because they failed to account for the influence of the state and the class. Lee (1980) in analyzing the cases of Canada and ROC, suggested economic and political factors as important determinants in importing television programs. Another group of scholars viewed the dominance of imported programs as a stage in the development process.

A study by Katz and Wedell (1976)

delineated three stages of development for television broadcasting in Third World nations. First, a model directly imported from developed nations is adopted. Secondly, the system goes through a process of adaptation. In the third stage, government control replaces and removes foreign influences. The proportion of imported programs, according to this theory, should be highest during the first stage, and gradually decreases as local conditions become more favorable for production.

A similar view was taken by Wang and Dissanayake (1983). While analyzing the continuity and change of communication systems in non-Western nations, they found that many mass media have in the process of growth developed unique features by incorporating elements in the indigenous system. The absolute dominance of Western influence is therefore, at best a passing phenomenon.

Tunstall (1977) in his discussion of media imperialism, indicated that the real choice in compromising the tastes of the elite group and the mass in developing nations may be a "hybrid form" of programming. Such a "hybrid form" would represent a combination of the old and the imported. The idea of integrating the "indigenous" with the "modern" as suggested in the MacBride report (1980) offered an alternative similar to Tunstall's suggestion.

The above analyses may have outlined the future of television broadcasting in developing nations. But they do not provide much information regarding the potential role of television in "genuine" cultural exchanges among nations — exchanges without one dominating the others. In other words, if and when cultural imperialism is not any more a concern of local authorities, will television

be able to promote cultural exchange and understanding among nations? In this regard, the development of television broadcasting in the ROC makes an especially interesting case.

IMPORTING TELEVISION PROGRAMS IN ROC: ANY PROBLEMS?

Television broadcasting began in ROC in 1962 with the Taiwan Television Company. As pointed out by Y. M. Ho (1981), TTV set the blueprint of television broadcasting in ROC. Fierce competition began as the other two companies, the China Television Company and the China Television Service, entered the field in 1969 and 1971.

From 1970 to 1980, the growth of television broadcasting in ROC was quite visible. In 1970, there were 350,000 television sets, an average of one set per 38.5 persons. Ten years later, the total number of television sets reached 3,510,000, an average of one set per five persons. Advertising revenue was around US\$10,800,000 in 1970. In 1980, the figure reached US\$65,800,000, seven times higher than that in 1970. The average annual growth rate was 21.6 per cent.

One of the features behind this rapidly expanding television broadcasting enterprise is the insignificant proportion of foreign programs. Unlike most of the other developing nations, ROC has never been a heavy importer of foreign television programs. As Lee (1980, p. 157) indicated in his analyses, "Taiwan is one of the most self-reliant nations in the media realm." Although in its early days, TTV did suffer a lack of proper equipment and trained personnel, the ratio of foreign programs has been kept at a moderate

level. Even at the peak of foreign programs in the mid-1960s, the ratio was not higher than 35 percent. This percentage was then cut down to 25 percent in early 1970s after CTS was inaugurated. CTS, because of its educational programs, had the lowest ratio (12 percent) of imported programs. The most recent figure of imported programs as reported by the Taipei Journalists' Association was less than 15 percent, well below the 30 percent stipulated by the government.

In the discussion of media imperialism, one of the most frequently mentioned issues was the quality of imported television programs. As indicated in the MacBride report:

The developed countries get the selected best of the culture from developing countries; the latter get a lot of what on any objective standard is the worst produced by the former. (1980, p. 163)

The point here is that even with a heavy dosage of television programs from developed nations, audiences in developing nations are not exposed to a fair picture of the culture, but at best "television culture" or "mass culture," of the producing nation. Studies showed that most of the programs imported by developing nations are serials, series, feature films and variety shows. These programs, e.g., *Charlie's Angels*, were criticized as full of violence and sex to attract the largest denomination of the population. On the other hand, they offer little of what is considered to be good culture.

The programs imported by TTV, CTV and CTS can be categorized into seven groups: comedy, detective, feature film, Western, serial, documentary and cartoons.

The number of programs in each category varies from time to time. For example, there was at one time a dominance of detectives including *Mannix*, *Kojack*, *FBI* and *Hawaii Five-O*. Now comedies seem to be on the rise. Take the week of July 26 to 31, there are altogether five comedies, one detective story, two feature films, one Western, two serials, two documentaries, two entertainments and cartoons.

Almost all of the feature films, series and serials are American products. The recent success of a Hong Kong-made Kung Fu serial *Tsu Liu Hsian* is a surprise to many people. Although it too is imported, the nature of this program has in fact challenged the domestic television program production. Whether the pattern of importing programs will change because of this Kung Fu serial remains to be seen.

Cartoons are mostly made in Japan. Unlike the American programs which are shown with subtitles, the Japanese programs are dubbed so that "children can better understand." (*The ROC Mass Communication Annals, 1981*) Documentaries, although smaller in number, are imported from different nations. The producing companies include those in the States, France, Great Britain

and Hong Kong depending on the subject matter: fashion, sport, science or special events such as the announcement of Academy Awards.

On the whole, the nature of imported programs does not seem to be a matter of concern to the local authorities, intellectuals or social critiques. Whether these programs promote cultural exchange is certainly an open issue. But at this point, they do not seem to be trouble-makers to the guardians of traditional culture.

One reason for this "peaceful coexistence" of foreign and domestic programs lies in the audience reaction. While some of the imported programs were found to be highly popular in developing nations, survey results indicate a general lack of interest toward foreign programs in ROC. A study of television program preference (Hsu et al, 1975) showed that only 13 percent of the respondents, most of them with higher education, preferred imported programs. A more recent study (Chi, 1981) showed a similar tendency; about half of the respondents said they do not watch "television films" which are usually referred to as imported programs (Table 1). This percentage tends to be higher than that of most of the other content categories. Here again, education seems to be a significant predictor.

Table I
The Nature of Program and Viewing Behavior

	Yes (%)	No (%)
Drama in Fukien Dialect	80	20
Drama in Mandarin	67	33
News	77	23
Variety Show	76	24
Television Film	50	50
Cartoon	45	55

N = 1003

Source: Chi (1981)

The lack of interest on the part of the audience also affected the showing time. While it is reported that imported programs are often shown during prime time hours in developing nations, they are usually shown after 9:30 pm here. Cartoons are shown around 6pm for children viewing. Imported programs, therefore, can hardly compete with local programs.

In terms of the quality of the imported programs, there does not seem to be a significant improvement over the years. In the mean time, we have observed a steady decline of foreign programs in local television broadcasting. Lee (1980) attributed self-reliance to mainly cultural and political pride of the government, and commercialism. To television companies, advertising revenue is the most realistic concern. An officer in charge of purchasing foreign programs in CTV put it in this way*:

The minimum cost for us to produce a half-hour program is US\$1,500. To buy a program from U.S. costs us no more than US\$175. But who wants to sponsor an imported program? You still see imported programs now simply because we can not find sponsors, but are obliged to fill the broadcasting hours.

Imported programs, therefore, could be curtailed further if there were enough sponsors to cover the programs. There does not seem to be enough enthusiasm toward foreign television programs to motivate the local companies to buy programs of better quality, or programs produced from countries other than the few known ones. When asked about buying programs from other countries, the same officer replied:

Who would be interested in watching an Ugandan program?

The same question may be put in another way:

Why wouldn't the audience be interested in an Ugandan program?

The answer to the above question involves two factors: cultural alienation, the same reason which affected the popularity of other imported programs, and the quality of programs. Although the programs imported from the few developed nations were viewed as "not up to standards", local broadcasters seem to have even less confidence in programs produced elsewhere.

On the other hand, if the audiences are not interested in American programs, there is no reason to believe that they would be attracted by Korean, Indian or Filipino programs. The Hong Kong-made Kung Fu serial *Tsu Liu Hsian* is acceptable to local audience because the fiction on which the serial based its story was written by a local writer. Therefore, to an audience with such a strong preference for local programs, importing foreign television programs does not seem to be a choice of high priority — either for financial reasons or for the sake of cultural exchange.

While local television companies do not yet have resources to produce quality documentaries, a program named *Knowing Allies* broadcasted years ago was aiming at the cultural traits, life styles and geographical features of other nations. Some of the variety shows also incorporated folk songs and folk dancing of foreign nations in the program. Such form of programming may be a better way — at least a more acceptable way to the audience — than direct importation

* Personal interview of Yinne Wang Chang, Deputy Director of the Film Section in CTV, July 21.

of foreign programs:

EXPORT OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS FROM ROC

In recent years, a significant development of television broadcasting in the

ROC has been the steady increase of TV programs export (Table II). The venture began ten years ago with a folk song drama *Three Smiles (San Hsiao)*. It was sold to a Hong Kong television station for a price of US\$75 for half an hour. The charges as claimed by the seller, was only "symbolic."

Table II
Export of Local TV Programs

	<u>TTV (in hours)</u>	<u>CTV</u>	<u>CTS</u>
1971	2		
1972	21		
1973	115		243
1974	244	222	258
1975	640	627	1196
1976	659	493	2231
1977	940	1120	1830
1978	683	1131	1102
1979	625	796	1692
1980	1027	1361	1358
Total	4957	5751	10012

Source: *The ROC Radio and Television Annals*, 1981.

Although monetary gains do not seem to be substantial, the sales continued. In ten years, the annual sales of TV programs to Chinese communities in Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and U.S. totaled 20,000 hours. In 1980 alone, over 3,500 hours of programs were sold abroad.

This trend of exporting TV programs to neighboring countries is significant. If the sales continue to grow, the monopoly of international market now held by the few giant companies may gradually erode. Instead, the flow of TV programs among culturally similar countries and regions such as ROC, Singapore and Hong Kong may thrive.

There is, however, still a problem with the content of programs being exported. Records show that the majority of the exported programs are drama and entertainment. Very few of those can be described as cultural or educational. Some of the series, e.g., *The Master Judge Pao (Pao Chin Tien)* were based on folk tales, but in general the exported programs were regarded as products of the domestic "mass culture" — a criticism also heard of programs exported by the few developed nations. The direction of TV program flow, therefore, may be changed, but the quality of those programs remained the same.

PROSPECT OF PROMOTING CULTURAL EXCHANGE THROUGH TELEVISION

Many factors are involved in cultural exchange through television: the socio-political infrastructure of the nation, the function and structure of the mass communication system, cost-benefit considerations and audience preferences. In the case of television broadcasting in ROC, commercialism seems to be one of the major factors in keeping down the proportion of imported programs. Unfortunately it could also stifle audience's appetite and discourage free flow of quality cultural programs among nations.

There seem to be two solutions to the problem: promoting cultural exchange through local programs and establishing public television broadcasting. As previously mentioned, under the pressure of commercialism, the only viable way of

promoting cultural exchange may be through local programs. Such a means, however, still does not guarantee sponsorship. On the other hand, the freedom allowed for programming is at best limited.

The second choice, and probably the best solution, is to establish public television broadcasting. Though the government controls some of the ownership shares in each of the three television companies, none of them are really "public" in any sense. Governed by advertising revenues, programming has to cater to, rather than guiding or directing, audience's taste. The educational function of the medium is, therefore, neglected. The recent proposal of establishing a public television station may be an important step to improve the current situation. It also holds the key to genuine cultural exchange (as opposed to exchange of "mass culture") among nations.

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Science, Philosophy, and Human Existence

H. H. Ho

(何秀煌)

The sun of science shone brightly in the late nineteenth and early this centuries, promising a great future for mankind. Scientists and laymen alike took heart and had set their mind and hope on science. They acclaimed every scientific discovery and technological advancement as an assuring testimony that science held the key not only to the secret of nature but also to the happiness of mankind. They lauded the triumphant progress of scientific knowledge as an unmistakable sign that every significant human problem could be solved sooner or later, and that the man's age-old dream of building a paradise on earth was about to come true.

To be sure, a good number of landmarks in science has been majestically erected since the dawn of the 19th century. In 1801, by publishing his *Disquisitiones Arithmeticae*, Gauss advanced number theory, the Queen of mathematics which is in turn considered the Queen of science. In 1803, Dalton proposed his atomic theory of matter. Less than twenty years later, Oersted discovered electromagnetism, and in

1825, non-Euclidean geometries were constructed independently by Lobachevski and Bolyi. In the year 1827, Ohm stated the law of electric conduction, and the following year, the first human synthesis of an organic compound from inorganic material appeared. In 1831, Faraday discovered the electromagnetic induction, and during this decade, man saw the formulation of the law of the conservation of energy and the theory of entropy, known respectively as the first and the second laws of thermodynamics. In 1884, Cantor formulated the concepts of transfinite mathematics, and developed the set theory, providing the basis for modern mathematics. And then in the 1850s, due mainly to the efforts of Kirchhoff and Dunsen, the science of spectroscopy was established, leading to a number of far-reaching discoveries in physics. In 1854, Boolean algebra was invented. And in the year 1859, Darwin's epoch-making treatise, *Origin of Species*, saw the light of the day. In 1860s, Kekulé led the way in the establishment of organic chemistry, and Maxwell pioneered in the formulation of the

mathematical theory of electromagnetic radiation. Mendel set up a number of fundamental laws of genetics, and Mendeleev proposed the periodic law and periodic table of elements. In 1884, the concept of ionization was established by the work of Arrhenius, and in 1887, through the efforts of Hertz, much was learned about the propagation of electromagnetic waves, the so-called radio waves, including the demonstration that these waves travel at the velocity of light. And during the last decade of the 19th century, Roentgen discovered X-rays, Becquerel, radioactivity in uranium, and Thomson, the electron.

Our own century started with the same excitement, inspiration, and dream. At the very first year of this century, Planck proposed a theory known later as quantum theory, and the following year, Rutherford established the nature of radioactive integration and refined our concept of the structure of atoms. In the same year, De Vries enunciated the notion of evolution by mutation. And in 1905, the greatest genius of science since Newton, Albert Einstein, published the special theory of relativity and proposed the photon theory of light. Ten years later, the general theory of relativity saw the light.

In this first decade of our century, the scientists led by Wilson began to observe nuclear particles. And during the following decade, Kammerlingh-Hnnes discovered superconductivity, Bohr proposed the concept of the planetary atom, Moseley established the concept of atomic number and identified it to the charge on the nucleus of an atom. In 1913, Russell and Whitehead completed their momentous *Principia Mathematica*, a milestone in symbolic logic and the foundation of mathematics. And then

during the next decade, man saw the formulation of wave mechanics by de Broglie in 1924, and that of matrix mechanics by Heisenberg in 1925. In 1926, Pavlov published his *Conditioned Reflexes*, giving psychologico-behavioral studies a new stimulus, if not a complete redirection. At the beginning of the following decade, Parli postulated the existence of the neutrino, Chadwick and Anderson discovered, respectively, the neutron and the positron. Fermi led the way in the production of transuranium elements by neutron bombardment of uranium, and Meitner, Hahn and Strassmann succeeded in the first nuclear fission of uranium. Then in 1942, controlled nuclear fission of uranium was achieved by Fermi and others that put man on the very verge of a totally new era of atomic energy. We can continue without any efforts this long list of scientific discoveries and add to the examples of human achievements in science *ad nauseam*. As a matter of fact, never had there been a time since the dawn of our civilization did man become so exhilarating in his spirit, so sure in his future, and so proud of his place in the universe that he could not help losing his heart to science. Science was everything and anything worthy of man's pursuit and his respect must be scientific. It was a time for scientists. It was an era of progress. It was an age of science.

At first, the revolutionary nature and the philosophical implications of non-Euclidean geometries, quantum theory and the theories of relativity did not receive as much attention, and as prompt and deep reflection, as they deserve. The "new" geometry and the "modern" physics caught the eyes of people only little by little, leading some of them eventually to embark upon the study of

the nature of scientific endeavors in general and the formation of scientific theory and knowledge in particular. Thus the philosophy of science began to flourish in our age. This is, however, an endeavor confined mostly to the academic circle. For the man in the street, it was the war-time employment of scientific technology with its productive feat never before achieved and its grievous destruction yet done that made him start looking in awe of science. The first atomic bomb exploded in 1945, and on the 6th and the 9th of August that year, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively, that ruined these two cities and destroyed hundreds of thousands of human lives. This horror-stricken event cut a deep wound in man's heart. It left a cloud of suspicion over his mind. The devastating power of modern scientific technologies seemed thus to introduce the serpent into the science enthusiasts' paradise.

Subsequent developments and achievements in science struck us with a mixture of hope and fear. Atomic reactors were constructed giving man a new form of energy resources, but nuclear-fusion bombs (hydrogen bombs) were also invented with the capacity of destroying the whole human race. The structure of both DNA and RNA was deciphered, gene synthesis completed and the "test-tube babies" born. Man seems to come a delightful distance to improve our genetic quality, but at the same time he also took a fearful step nearer to the control of the behavior of others. Man-made satellites flying all over our heads bring us closer together through new ways of communication, but they may someday carry nuclear weapons to threaten our very own existence. Modern industry made possible by scientific technologies

provides us with daily necessities and fancy conveniences most welcome, but its pollutions also blacken our lungs and poison our blood. It seems to many that this once science enthusiasts' dreamland has become more and more dreadful and less and less livable. Man began to gaze inward and have second thought on science, wondering if Spencer was not truly prophetic and Orwell's dystopian world of 1984 has not come painfully near at hand. Do we have a dream turned into a nightmare? Is science really everything? Man began to turn back from gazing deeply and bewitchingly into the dazzling horizon of science to think, ask, and talk philosophically — once again, that is.

Philosophical has man always been from the time immemorial. Man is no animal. He is rational, being both reflective and speculative. He is no angel. But he is capable of something divine with a view to making it part of his humanity. He asks fundamental questions concerning his own existence and tries to find a way of arriving at the answers — and this is what philosophy is all about. Questions like what is the meaning of human existence? What can we know about the world and about ourselves? What is Good, what is Truth, what is Beauty and what is Love? How can we know what the future would be like when is Beauty and what is Love? How can we know what the future would be like when we have only the experience of the past? How can mathematics which is the product of arm-chair mathematicians be the backbone of science? What is scientific method and how can its application be justified? Are we really free in determining our own destiny and creating our own future? And a good many other questions. These questions are fundamental, because the answers to,

and sometimes the formulations of, other more apparent and practical questions presuppose the answers to these questions. They are the results of our reflective and speculating mind, because in doing philosophy we have to look not merely outwardly searching for objective existence and reality, but also inwardly gazing into ourselves. We look for the ultimacy and eternity that is inherent in the world, and at the same time we reach at our own consciousness and spirituality. We examine how this subjectivity illuminates — nay, as some will hasten to say, constitutes the ultimacy and eternity of the reality. Philosophy is not a profession. Being philosophical is having a certain quality to our life.

Science and philosophy were born together in the beginning. They were closely integrated, if barely distinguishable at first. Philosophy, which means the love of wisdom in Greek, embraced scientific endeavoring among its activities. Thales, the first renowned philosopher in the West, was also the man who tried to explain the ultimate nature of universe by speculating on its constituents. He worked in the same spirit as Archimedes, Eratosthenes, Aristartus, Hipparchus and Ptolemy in a later time. Democritus, another early Greek philosopher, was the first to propose that the ultimate constituents of our universe were not common-sensical elements like water, fire, earth or air, but rather something which was not divisible. He called them atoms, meaning that which is indivisible in Greek. By his speculation, Democritus became the first philosopher to give mankind an atomic theory of matter that purported to explain the being and becoming of the world in terms of its underlying properties of the fundamental elements. We can easily multiply the examples of the

meeting between science and philosophy from ancients to the present. In fact, many great minds in our history are both scientists and philosophers at the same time, and there have been even more men of learning who are scientist-turned philosophers or philosophically-minded scientists. The reason is simple. Philosophy, as we have just said, deals with ultimate problems of our life, people with this ultimate concern will turn eventually to philosophy.

Friendly rather than as a foe, science parted company with philosophy only relatively late to turn up intellectual products of admirable quality when scientists began to use extensively, if not exclusively, special methodology, to narrow their subjects of concern, consciously or unconsciously, down to a much more limited scope, making their territories better defined, and to emphasize, with or without justification, the factuality and objectivity of human experience.

Scientists are of course not to blame for doing all this. What has gone wrong ever since consists in the narrow-minded interpretation, and over-enthusiastic expectation, of science thus construed. For a layman, it is understandably only a small, although careless, step to jump to the conclusion that science is almighty after having witnessed its glorious achievements over the past four hundred years. He is under a strong temptation to glorify science, extolling it to the skies. Thus a whole cloud of narrow-minded "scienticism" formed hanging steadily over our intellectual horizon and permeating persistently our daily atmosphere — until quite recently. In this intellectual mist and common-sensical fog, people extolled science not only as the thing most valuable and

worthy, but often as the only thing desirable and respectable. Quite a few people, among them a sizable number of the intellectuals, even went so far as to attempt to justify the dubious moral and political relativisms by appealing, fallaciously of course, to Einstein's well-founded theories of relativity!

Fortunately at long last, we are now beginning to awake, at a high price in some cases, to the realities of human existence. We see more clearly now the nature, scope and limitations of science. We are no longer all sound asleep in a scientist's dream, fancifully awaiting the paradise begotten by the alleged almighty science alone. We are more and more awake to the fact that all our human experiences are not purely scientific, even if it is granted that science can solve exclusively and exhaustively every

question concerning matters of fact, which must remain rather doubtful. We once again realize that human life is not just an aggregate of facts. It is a totality of facts and values, of reason and emotion, of objective truths and subjective minds, of objects corporeal and things spiritual, of actuality and possibility, of reality and dreams, of scientific thinking and metaphysical speculation, of logical reasoning and artistic imagination, of practical necessity and moral ideality. Thus we must face our own existence systematically, organically and holistically instead of confronting it piecemeal — to say nothing of picking up the scientist piece and taking it for the only reality of human existence. In short, ours is a life that could be full and rich only if we would go beyond scientific sagacity and attempt at philosophical wisdom.

The Ceramic Art in Taiwan

Albert Yong Hsieh

(謝庸)

Taiwan faces the Pacific Ocean in South-eastern Asia and is located on an important trade route. Far from the protection of the central government, Taiwan was frequently invaded and occupied by alien powers. Its cultural development, including ceramic art, has been greatly influenced by the invaders.

Except for some primitive works by the aborigines, no pottery or porcelain was made until 1796. The daily ware of the early Chinese settlers was shipped, as ballast, from the mainland. This early kitchen pottery can be found today in museums and antique shops. When Japan governed Taiwan, they imported Japanese ceramics, built kilns, appointed Japanese technicians and adopted Japanese techniques. As a result, the ceramic style of Taiwan has been greatly influenced by the Japanese.

In 1949 the Central Government of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan; trade between Taiwan and the mainland was cut off. No pottery or porcelain was imported from the mainland. Need for utilitarian ceramics led to the building of many ceramic factories. The factories

were located mainly in Peitou, Yinggo, Miaoli, and Nantou. Their production ranged from cisterns to table ware. Few of them could be considered artistic.

In 1960 a trade union of ceramics was organized. Technicians have been employed by the government and by some institutes. Formal ceramic education has been started in some colleges and amateur training in some private workshops. The Potter's Training Institute (1961-1965) was sponsored by the Producing and Trading Center of China and is considered one of the most important modern ceramic training programs in Taiwan. Western and Japanese ceramic styles and techniques have been introduced to Taiwan and many famous potters have been trained there. Among the teachers, Kylliki Salmenhaara from Finland and Minoru Tanaka 田中稔 from Japan are the most influential.

Conceived in the culture and tradition of an ancient country, influenced by new materials and modern equipment, and stimulated by new esthetic theories of modern sculpture, ceramic works of today

have been led into its most complicated and kaleidoscopic route. They may generally be classified into five major groups.

A. THE CHINESE TRADITIONAL

Potters who use this pattern could be considered the successors of Chinese ceramic tradition. They have accepted the pure Chinese traditional training and their works express a special Chinese character. Their essence is the spirit of Chinese philosophy. Professor Jang-non Wu (吳讓農) is recognized as one of the leading potters of this style.

B. THE TRANSPLANTING

The transplanted pattern is extremely different from the Chinese traditional style. Potters using this method have not received the Chinese potter's training. They have learned pottery in foreign countries. They adopt foreign ideas and techniques that greatly enrich Chinese ceramic art. They strongly influence the youthful potters but the conservatives do not agree with them. Professor Huan-tang Chiu (邱煥堂) is typical of this group.

C. THE SYNTHETIC

The synthetic style is a combination of the traditional and the transplanting styles. The potters of the synthetic style are divided into three groups according to their background.

The potters of the first group initially learned pottery in foreign countries. They also appreciate ancient Chinese masterpieces. They are nourished by the culture of their motherland and they work very hard to enrich ceramic art. They take advantage of the knowledge

and techniques they acquired from foreign countries and combine them with the traditional forms of their motherland. P'ao-chia Lin (林葆家) who returned from Japan, and Wei-nin Yang (楊文甯) who returned from the United States, are typical examples of the synthetic style.

The potters of the second group of the synthetic style completed their college education in Taiwan. Their Chinese cultural background is evident in their works in spite of the fact they have settled in foreign countries for many years and absorbed alien cultures. Mary Chuang (馬浩) is a fine example of this group.

The potters of the third group of the synthetic style include beginners and are those who originally grew up in the tradition of Chinese culture. They have adopted foreign styles because they admire the alien art form. Their works seem to be an improper fusion of two different cultural styles. They have the appearance of miscellaneity and immaturity.

D. THE ANTIQUITY IMITATING

The potters who imitate the works of antiquity, counterfeit well-known ancient porcelain using modern materials and techniques. Both the form and glazes of their works nearly resemble the originals. Their business prospers and their income is much greater than potters of other styles. The curio businessmen, foreign tourists and those who are nostalgic like to buy the imitations for they cannot afford the real curios. The rich benefits attract many potters. Therefore, more and more factories produce counterfeit porcelain. In the past ten years the number of counterfeit factories has grown to two hundred. Among them the Chinese Ceramic Art Co.

(中華陶瓷公司) run by Mr. K. C. Jen (任克重) is the largest.

E. THE WESTERN DECORATIVE METHOD

Another popular ceramic production method in Taiwan is Western decorative porcelain. It includes European figurines of people and animals, also some domestic ware. This kind of work was originally produced in Japan. Because of this increase in wages for the Japanese laborer, the Japanese businessman, taking advantage of Taiwan's low wages, transferred this ceramic production to Taiwan.

Western decorative work has developed very fast in Taiwan partly because on the international market the imitative antique ceramic of Taiwan has faced keen competition from the Chinese mainland and because the investors get rich with limited capital. The number of kilns making Western decorative porcelain has increased to 200 in the last decade. Made of imported materials, reproduced from Western molds, the Western decorative porcelains are entirely Western in appearance; this has little to do with either Chinese art or Chinese culture. However, they are one of the major ceramic productions of Taiwan and a large portion of Taiwan's export trade.



Works of Chinese Traditional Style by Professor Jang-non Wu



Works of Transplanted Style by Prof. Huan-tang Chiu



1. by Piao-chia Lin

Works of Synthetic Style



2. by Mary Chuang



3. by Wei-nin Yang





Works of Antiquity Imitating Style



Works of Western Decorative Method

Chekhov's Influence on Ts'ao Yü's *Jih Ch 'u* (Sunrise)

Ren Shyh-jong

(任世雍)

Most literary scholars would rank Ts'ao Yu as an important modern Chinese dramatist. His importance lies in the elevation of the artistic standard and the development of the modern Chinese drama which in the 30's departed from its pioneering experiments begun in 1907 with the organization of the Spring Willow Society 春柳社 in Japan. His contribution rests primarily in his earlier plays such as *Lei Yu* 雷雨 (Thunderstorm), *Jih Ch 'u* 日出 (Sunrise), *Yuan Yeh* 原野 (Wilderness) produced between the 1930's and the 1940's. For after the 1940's he began to be fully engaged in cultural and political activities, and as a result produced few works that can be compared with the artistic and thematic quality of his earlier ones.

The key to Ts'ao's success consists primarily in his ingenious union of Chinese themes and Western dramatic techniques. His vivid dialogue also helps greatly enliven his plays. The themes of his earlier plays always deal with the exposure of the dark aspects of the contemporary society, eroded by authoritarian tradition, stifling feudalism,

and inhumane capitalism, reflected especially in *Chia* 家, which was adapted from Pa Chin's *Chia*, *Ch 'iao* 橋, and *Jih Ch 'u*. For example, the theme of *Jih Ch 'u* portrays the miserable conditions resulting from social injustices and inhumane capitalism. In it one finds that a herd of cruel and greedy ghosts haunting a big city – sick and dark – not only feed upon the good and innocent, but also desperately cut each other's throat for more material gains. While Ts'ao uncovers these dark aspects, he never forgets to infuse some hope of a socialist nature into his plays.

Ts'ao's dramatic technique is characterized by a well-structured and well-balanced plot, an elucidative atmosphere, and varied and contrasted moods, to which, thanks to his profound knowledge of Western literature, he is greatly indebted to his Western predecessors, ranging from Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Euripides to Ibsen, Galsworthy, O'Neill, and Chekhov. This paper will be limited to discussing the influence of the Chekhovian contrast and juxtaposition of moods, of symbolic images, of different forms of dialogue, and of acoustic effects

in his *Jih Ch'ü*.

Chekhov's influence shows up in two categories: theme and technique. The theme of *Cherry Orchard* depicts the social mentality of the period between the ending of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in general, and the conflict between the declining landed gentry represented by Ranevskaya, Gayeff, and Semyonoff-Pishtchik, and the rising bourgeois capitalist class in particular. The conflict is symbolized by the possession of the cherry orchard that has different symbolic meanings: to the gentry it symbolizes the former grandeur, the past bliss, and the aesthetic tradition; to the capitalist it signifies the mere potential of development that brings forth material profits. The social mentality is manifested by the opposing character of the two classes: the landed gentry is distinguished by wastefulness, isolation, sentimentality, and idleness; the capitalist class by industriousness, frugality, and self-centered interest. Chekhov successfully enables his audience to perceive the theme embodied in the play. His success to a great extent hinges upon his dramatic technique.

Chekhov's dramatic technique is characterized by the following elements: anti-climactic, plotless "unfolding," remarkable characterization and dialogue, and atmosphere and moods. Let me summarize the first three, and then elaborate on the last.

The plotless technique is Chekhov's artistic innovation, which not only constitutes his main appeal but has also exerted an influence on modern drama.¹ In *Cherry Orchard* one can perceive a thin current of a rising-falling action running under the surface of plotlessness and anti-climaxes — the talk, the auction, and the sale of the orchard—. but the

function of this current is simply to portray the theme.²

Chekhov's characters are distinguished by the following types: neither heroic, nor villainous, but ordinary; talkative, inclined to dream rather than act; and self-revealing through subtle showing, not stereotyped. He views Ranevskaya, Lopahin, and other characters with objectivity and detachment, and delineates them with understanding, forgiveness, and compassion.

Chekhov's dialogue is marked by the alternation and contrast of normal dialogue, disconnected dialogue, and free-floating remarks, which not only enliven his play but lend variety to it. The disconnected dialogue made by Chekhov's characters results from their indulgence in their own individual world, and it serves to fulfill the following functions: to produce humor, to disclose the speaker's inner thoughts, and to show his isolation. Free-floating remarks exemplified by Gayeff's billiard terms serve to cover his embarrassment and simultaneously to create a kind of nonsense humor when his world is interrupted and when he feels embarrassed.

While *Cherry Orchard* is characterized by these three techniques, it is also characterized by the contrast and juxtaposition of minor moods which run throughout the pervading background atmosphere — lightly nostalgic and elegiac — which elucidates the theme of the passing of the old order. Just as Shakespeare in *Merchant of Venice* skillfully employs the contrasts between the harsh, realistic atmosphere of Venice and the soft, idyllic air of Belmont, and between the "beast, tempest" imagery and the "music, mood" imagery, similarly Chekhov adopts contrasts and juxtaposition of minor moods to attenuate the

tragic mood as well as to mirror the view of his life — life is “both laughter and tears, both hope and despair, both longing and triviality.”³

The mood contrasts in *Cherry Orchard* can be classified into three primary patterns: (a) tragic-comic, (b) lively-serious; and (c) lyric-prosaic (commercial). All these three patterns recur throughout the play. For example, pattern (a) can be found in Trofimoff's mention of Grisha when presenting himself to Ranevskaya,⁴ causing Ranevskaya to bring to mind her drowned child. This reflection creates a tragic mood⁵ which not only contrasts with the immediately preceding one⁶ but also with the immediately succeeding comic effect created by Trofimoff's mangy-looking face.

Pattern (b) can be found in Act III. The lively mood created by Charlotta's trick-play and card-conjuring at the party contrasts with the immediately succeeding serious mood produced by the discussion of the pending result of the auction of the cherry orchard:

Ranevskaya: And Leonid is not here yet. What he's doing in town so long, I don't understand! Everything is finished there, either the estate is sold by now, or the auction didn't take place. Why keep it from us so long?

Varya (Trying to comfort her): Uncle has bought it, I am sure of that.

Trofimoff (Mockingly): Yes.

Varya: Great-aunt sent him power of attorney to put it in her name and transfer the debt. She did this for Anya. And I feel certain, God willing, that Uncle will buy it.

Ranevskaya: Our Yaroslavl great-aunt has sent fifteen thousand to buy the estate in her name — She doesn't trust us, but that wouldn't be enough to pay the interest even — (Covering her face with her hands). Today my fate will be

decided, my fate — (pp. 269-70).

Pattern (c) can be found in Act I. The commercial touch painted by Gayeff's “Yes, and the orchard will be sold for debt, strange as that may seem” (p. 243) puts an end to the lyric atmosphere so far created by the lyric description of the cherry orchard:

Varya (Softly): . . . Already the sun's rising; it's not cold. Look, Mama! What beautiful trees! My Lord, what air! The starlings are singing! Gayeff (Opening another window): The orchard is all white. You haven't forgotten, Lyuba? That long lane there runs straight — as a strap stretched out. It glitters on moonlight nights. Do you remember? You haven't forgotten it? Lyuboff Andreevna (Looking out of the window on to the orchard): Oh, my childhood, my innocence! I slept in this nursery and looked out on the orchard from here, every morning happiness awoke with me, it was just as it is now, then, nothing has changed. (Laughing with joy) All, all white! Oh, my orchard! After a dark, rainy autumn and cold winter, you are young again and full of happiness (pp. 242-3).

Instances of pattern (c) are also reminiscent of the contrast between the lyric verse uttered by the aristocratic gentlemen and the commercial prose uttered by the moneylender, Shylock, in *Merchant of Venice*.

Besides the contrast and balance of these three patterns, Chekhov also skillfully employs objects and sounds to create mood. The sun-setting scene that symbolizes the falling of the landed gentry in Act II contrasts and balances with the sun-rising scene that symbolizes the rising of the bourgeois capitalist in Act IV. Among the moods perhaps none is more able to convey the sentiment of the passing order than the one at the end

of the last act. Here Chekhov combines various sounds to create such an acoustic effect that no one is able to resist it. The sound of the door-locking and the driving off of carriages, the succeeding stillness, the lonely thud of an ax on a cherry tree, and the far-off sad sound of a snapped string,⁷ together with the muttering of Fiers: "Life has gone by, as if I hadn't lived at all — (lying down) I'll lie down awhile — you haven't got any strength, nothing is left, nothing — Ach, you — good-for-nothing — (He lies still) (p. 296)" vividly communicate to the audience the elegiac mood.

The self-muttering of Fiers cannot but remind one of the clown in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* who is left alone on the empty stage, singing to comfort himself and to justify a player's existence, "And we'll strive to please you everyday," after Viola and Duke Orsino and Olivia and Sebastian pair off to enjoy the fruit of love.

As discussed before, Chekhov's dramatic technique is manifested in anticlimactic plotlessness, remarkable characterization and dialogue, and atmosphere and moods. With Chekhov's juxtaposition and contrast of different forms of dialogue, of his atmosphere and moods, and of his acoustic effects, as my measuring basis, I will prove the influence of Chekhovian techniques in *Jih Ch'u* 日出 (*Sunrise*). My demonstration is based on two kinds of evidence — external and internal. I'll let my detailed comparison reveal internal evidence. My external evidence stems from scholars' judgments; Ts'ao Yu's biographical background; Ts'ao Yu's possible exposure to Chekhov's works; and Ts'ao Yu's own remarks about Chekhov.

Both Western and Chinese literary scholars like Chin Tien 田金, Jack Chen,

Walter J. & Ruth I. Meserve, John Y. H. Hu, Joseph S. M. Lau, and Yu Yang, all agree upon Chekhovian influence in *Sunrise*, though Ts'ao Yu himself asserts that he only unconsciously adopts Chekhov's dramatic artistry.⁸ His school days at the Nankai Middle School (1926-1930) show that he not only was engaged actively in translating Western plays and enacting some roles in them for his dramatic club but he was also occupied with reading the plays of his Western predecessors at night, ranging from Aeschylus and Euripides to Molière, Ibsen, Gorky, Eugene O'Neill, and Chekhov.⁹ Later, besides his ardent reading, he tried to write his first play, *Lei Yu* 雷雨 (*Thunderstorm*) which turned out to be a success, while he was studying at Tsinghua University 清華大學. Although he might not understand Russian because his major was English, he had every access to Chinese translations of Chekhov's plays and short stories in such big cities as Tientsin and Peiping.¹⁰ Lastly, his own admiration for Chekhov appearing in the postscript of *Sunrise*.¹¹

After I finished *Thunderstorm*, I begin to have a kind of disgust toward it. . . I want to write something in a more direct manner; I want to get rid of the shallow technique I have picked up so far; I want to learn something deeper. I remember that several years ago I was so indulged in Chekhov's art and so moved by his plays. . . I want to be his disciple. . .

further contributes to validating his indebtedness to Chekhov.

Before I proceed to the analytic comparison, let me digress a little by introducing the views of two modern Chinese scholars about the Chekhovian influence in *Sunrise*. In his "*Sunrise* and

Cherry Orchard” Joseph S. M. Lau points out that both plays share a similar theme — the passing of an old order.¹² While Chekhov depicts the declining of the landed gentry and the rising of the bourgeois capitalist class, Ts’ao Yu describes the descending of the corrupted bourgeois capitalist class and the ascending of the hard-working laboring class. John Y. H. Hu in “*Sunrise*”¹³ perceptively points out the artistic contrast and balance among the characters, the settings, the ideas — the fatalism represented by Pai-lu Chen 陳白露 and the optimism by Detson Fong 方達生,¹⁴ and so forth. He further metaphorically perceives a process of “budding,” “blooming,” and “declining,” in the life of Little Creature 小東西, aged 16, Pai-lu Chen, aged 23, and Chaisee 翠喜, aged 30. Lau’s view with regard to the theme of *Sunrise* is partially right, because Ts’ao Yu does stress the ascending of the laboring class by both their song and the rising sun. However, in reality, the social order remains unchanged: the dark bourgeois capitalist class still dominates the scene, although the laboring class symbolically wins the day. It is different from *Cherry Orchard* where the bourgeois capitalist class represented by Lopahin solidly replaces the landed gentry represented by Ranevskaya by possessing the orchard and chopping down the cherry trees. Hu ingeniously indicates the “contrast” and “balance” techniques in *Sunrise*, but his discussion in this direction is by no means exhaustive. For instance, he fails to point out the presence of the contrast and balance technique in the structure, atmosphere and moods, symbols, dialogue, and the acoustic effects of *Sunrise*. Despite my criticism, I should say that both scholars have contributed greatly to the elucidation of

Ts’ao Yu’s themes and dramatic techniques in *Sunrise*.

I will lift the curtain of the analytic comparison by Yu Yang’s interview with Ts’ao Yu in 1963. In this interview Ts’ao Yu remarked, “It seems to me now that *Thunderstorm* shows my revolt against the family and *Sunrise* against society. The characters in both plays were very familiar to me. They were products of an abnormal society and I had been in touch with each of them. I loathed those who were thoroughly corrupt and sympathized with their victims.”¹⁵

The dark, corrupt, and abnormal society that was so loathed by the author is epitomized in a grand, luxurious hotel suite — shrouded almost all day in shadow and darkness, crammed with expensive but superficial furniture, and littered with wine-bottles, picture magazines, and cigarette-ends. This society is haunted by such human ghosts as the absent Chin Pa 金八, the cruel, merciless plutocrat, Yuting Pan 潘月亭, the speculative bank manager, Fusing Wang 王福升, a cunning, sycophantic steward of the hotel, Shiching Lee 李石清, a tricky, ambitious but pitiable bank secretary, George Chang 張喬治, a superficial returned student, the social parasites, Mrs. Koo 顧八奶奶 and Hu-si 胡四, and so forth.

The social victims that the author was in sympathy with are Pai-lu Chen, Little Creature, Chaisee, Sanson Huang 黃省三, and other oppressed ones. A thin undercurrent of hopeful light penetrates and runs throughout this dense darkness, symbolically represented by the rising sun and the singing of the construction workers, and substantially represented by Detson Fong 方達生, a country school teacher and former lover of Pai-lu Chen, who like a mythological hero comes to

rescue his spell-charmed heroine. Unfortunately his mission fails, because the heroine who has struggled in the conflict of darkness and light is eventually devoured by the darkness.

The structure visualized from the preceding analysis is a conflict between darkness and light, resulting in the light side symbolically winning the day and the dark side substantially dominating the scene. In this structure one perceives the influence of Chekhovian techniques — the contrast and juxtaposition of moods, of symbolic images, of different forms of dialogue, and acoustic effects — which I will discuss in the following.

As already mentioned, *Cherry Orchard* is characterized by the contrast and juxtaposition of three primary patterns — tragic-comic, lively-serious, and lyric-prosaic (commercial). Here in *Sunrise* one can find three similar patterns of moods, with the pathetic-humorous as the major one, and with the other two — vulgar-serious, and lyric-shallow — as the minor ones.

For example, the pathetic-humorous pattern can be found in Fusing's threatening and arrogant attitude toward Sanson Huang 黃省三 who comes to appeal to Shiching Lee and Yuting Pan for replacement after he has been unduly discharged for a while, and in Fusing's being immediately scolded humiliatingly by Chin Pa in the telephone.¹⁶ The contrast of the two aspects of one face is ironically fascinating. The audience must feel a kind of revengeful satisfaction when the cunning steward is being scolded.

The vulgar-serious pattern appears in Fong's proposing to Chen, Chen's keeping Little Creature, and Fusing's demanding Chen to pay the bills, as well as the talk among a group of gangsters looking for Little Creature who has just escaped from

their custody and into Chen's suite.¹⁷ The first three are tinged with seriousness and the last one with vulgarity.

The lyric-shallow pattern is found in Chen's joy at seeing Frost and her nostalgic reminiscence (p. 110), and George Chang's drunken talk mixed with superficial English (pp. 21-2; 242-47).

The main symbolic images in *Cherry Orchard* are the rising sun and the setting sun, representing the two classes. The landed gentry is associated with those images that are lyric, dreamy, and natural; the capitalist class is associated with those images that are pragmatic, realistic and commercial. In *Sunrise* the symbolic images are characterized by light and darkness: the former is found in the beginning of Act I and the ending of Act IV; the latter is in Acts II and III. Each main image has its own associated minor images: the darkness is associated with wine, tobacco, sleeping pill, ghost, mahjong, nightmare, and the like; the light is associated with the morning sun, frost, the crowing cock, the chirping sparrow, youth, dawn, and so forth. The conflict between artificial and natural images helps elucidate the theme.

In *Cherry Orchard* the juxtaposition and contrast of normal dialogue, disconnected dialogue, and free-floating remarks create humor and isolation. In *Sunrise* one finds the vulgar talk in the bawdy house and some other places, George Chang's Chinese mixed with English, Fusing's Chinese English, and the normal dialogue, producing pathos, humor, and shallowness. The dialogue among Chaisee, Little Shuntze 小順子, and Little Creature in the bawdy house creates pathos; Fusing's Chinese English “點煤油的副路(damned fool)” produces laughter; and George Chang's Chinese mixed with English impresses one with

vanity and shallowness.

The acoustic effects produced in *Cherry Orchard* seem to reappear in the brothel house scene (Act III) of *Sunrise*: the yelling of hawkers, the sound of bamboo struck by a lonely night-watchman, the sobbing sound of a woman, the singing of Su Lai Pao 數來寶 and Er Huang 二簧, and so forth, paint vividly the realistic atmosphere of a living hell. Joseph S. M. Lau asserts that the third act is painted so successfully with such a naturalistic color that few modern Chinese writers have surpassed Ts'ao Yu.¹⁸

The author himself mentioned in the postscript of *Sunrise*¹⁹ that in order to portray faithfully the brothel scene he had ventured a "field-trip" to a red-light

district and had even been beaten by a drunken fellow. Besides these instances in the third act, one also finds the singing of the construction workers, the lamenting whistle of a far-off factory, the quarrelling noise, the mahjong noise, the crowing of a cock, and so forth, all elucidate the theme — the conflict of the two classes. Especially the lamenting whistle cannot but remind one of the far-off sound of a snapped string in *Cherry Orchard*.

Viewed from the preceding discussion, one finds parallels of the contrast and juxtaposition of moods, of symbolic images, of different forms of dialogue, and of acoustic effects in both plays, which clearly show Chekhovian influence in Ts'ao Yu's *Sunrise*.

NOTES

1. John Gassner in *Shaw* (London, 1951), p. 144 underscores this feature by stating: "Ever since Chekhov became a successful playwright, the plotless play, which is usually little more than a string of little occurrences forming a play . . . has won the greatest degree of respect and affection. Modern drama has been the result of fundamentally anti-Aristotelian playwriting — largely plotless, meandering, semi-comic, and semi-tragic."
2. In a similar manner Virginia Woolf in *To the Lighthouse* (1927) uses the measurement of the brown stocking as a means to explore the enigma of Mrs. Ramsay through the multi-personal representation of consciousness. For further detailed information, consult Erich Auerback's *Mimesis* (Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 525-53.
3. Nils Ake Nilsson, "Intonation and Rhythm in Chekhov's Plays," *Anton Chekhov 1890-1960, Some Essays*, edited by T. Edkman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), p. 174.
4. *Best Plays by Chekhov*, translated by Stark Young (New York: the Modern Library, 1956), pp. 243-4.
5. *Best Plays*, p. 244:
Ranevskaya: My Grisha — My boy — Grisha — Son
Ranevskaya: (Weeping softly) My boy was lost, drowned — Why? Why, my friend?
6. *Ibid.*, p. 243:
Ranevskaya: There's not any body, it only seemed so. To the right, as you turn to the summerhouse, a little white tree is leaning there, looks like a woman — (Enter Trofimoff, in a student's uniform, well-worn, and glasses) What a wonderful orchard!

The white masses of blossoms, the sky all blue.

7. David Magarshack, *Chekhov the Dramatist* (London: Hohn Lehmann Ltd., 1952), p. 286:
It was a sound Chekhov remembered from his own boyhood when he used to spend his summer months at a little hamlet in the Don basin. It was there that he first heard the mysterious sound, which seemed to be coming from the sky, but which was caused by the fall of a bucket in some distant coalmine. With the years this sound acquired a nostalgic ring, and it is this sad, nostalgic feeling Chekhov wanted to convey by it. It is a sort of requiem for the unhappy and disjointed lives of his characters.
8. Cf. Chin Tien, *Chung Kuo Hsi Chu Yun Tung* 中國戲劇運動 (Shanghai: 商務印書館, 1944), pp. 56-7; Jack Chen, *The Chinese Theatre* (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1948), pp. 47-54; walter J. & Ruth I. Meserve, "Ts'ao Yu: Dramatist in Communist China," *Comparative Drama* 1 (1968); John Y. H. Hu, *Ts'ao Yu* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), pp. 54, 69, & 98; Joseph S. M. Lau, "Ts'ao Yu, The Reluctant Disciple of Chekhov: A Comparative Study of *Sunrise* and *The Cherry Orchard*," *Modern Drama* 9 (February 1967), pp. 359-60; and Yu Yang, "Interview: the Playwright Ts'ao Yu," *Chinese Literature* 11 (1963), p. 99.
9. Yu Yang, "Interview," p. 99.
10. Before the 1930's quite a few of Chekhov's short stories and plays including *Cherry Orchard* were already translated and published. For detailed information consult Chin Tien's "三十年來戲劇翻譯之比較," in 中國戲劇運動, pp. 105-44; Hsui-pui Tseng 曾虛白, "Chinese Translations of Western Literature," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 22 (1928), pp. 369-78; and Shin Kun 辛壘, ed., 中國戲劇書目彙編初稿 1922-1949 (Hong Kong: 話劇研究社, 1977).
11. *Jih Ch'u* 日出 (Sunrise) (Shanghai: 文化生活出版社, 1936), pp. 92-99.
12. *Ts'ao Yu: A Study in Literary Influence* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1970), p. 34.
13. *Ts'ao Yu* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), pp. 44-54.
14. Except otherwise indicated my translation is based on H. Yonge's *Sunrise* (China: The Commercial Press, 1940).
15. Yu Yang, "Interview," p. 101.
16. *Jih Ch'u*, pp. 92-99.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-58.
18. "Naturalism in Modern Chinese Fiction," *Literature East and West* 12 (1968), p. 149.
19. *Jih Ch'u*, pp. XXII-XXV.

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Liu Hsieh's Organic Theory of Literature

Shu-hua Chou

(周樹華)

The organic theory of literature is based on an analogy between literary work and living organism. Critics who maintain this theory tend to compare a piece of literary work to the human body on two assumptions: Both are an organic unity and an organic form. Organic unity means the union of several parts into a single whole, and suggests therefore multiplicity with unity and/or unity in varieties. Organic form suggests at once a unified whole of idea and form as well as a process of formation and thus the realization or growth of an idea into a form.

The organic form and the organic unity maintain between themselves a cause-and-effect relationship — the one being the result of the other. While the organs of human body function at once by the same vital dynamism, the scattered parts of a literary work (i.e., words, phrases, sentences, images, imagery, etc.) do not spontaneously unite themselves into an organic whole except by the prior activity of the author.

This theory of organic unity has been popular in the history of criticism East and West. The history of Western literary criticism sees the growth of a family tree

of critics, from Plato down to the New Critics, who maintain the organic concept of literature. A classical and classic example can be found in Plato's *Phaedo* in which the philosopher says, "the composition should be like a living being, with a body of its own, so as not to be headless or footless, but so as to have a middle and numbers, composed in keeping with each other and with the whole."¹ The Romantic critics hold an organic view of literature that its reality resides in "the dynamic process or activity in which the parts are brought together into an organic unity."² It is based on this concept of nature that the Romantics develop their theory of imagination. Unlike reason which analyzes, divides, thus distorts reality, the imagination is able to grasp things in their living process. From this are derived the organic theories of Wordsworth, Hazlitt, and Keats. The Kantian philosophy in the late 18th and the early 19th centuries brings a series of critics to the line of organic concept of literature: the Schlegels, von Schelling, Schiller, Coleridge, and Shelley, to mention only a few, whose theories are characterized either by dynamic vitalism or by transcendentalism.

In the 20th century, formalistic criticism, with its emphasis on contextual structure and coalesced totality, can be considered partly as an offshoot of the organic view of art. Thus the organic concept has manifested itself as a mainstream of the Western literary criticism.

Such an organic concept of literature — and of art in general — seems to be not so popular and prevalent among the traditional Chinese critics as among their Western counterparts. This is probably because of their predominant moralistic and utilitarian approaches to literature. However, with the rise of the aesthetic school in the Six Dynasties, which is more formalistic than moralistic in literary approach, critics begin to give more consideration to the intrinsic elements of a literary work itself than to its extrinsic relationships with such things as morality and politics. The art of composition, that is, the realization of idea into form and the composition of constituent elements into a unified, organic whole, becomes the primary concern of literary practitioners and theorists. Among these critics, Liu Hsieh (劉勰), with his *Literary Mind and the Carving of the Dragon*, has proved himself the most systematic one.

This paper is an attempt to show Liu's concept of organic theory through close examination of three chapters of his work, *Ch'ing-Ts'ai* (情采 "Emotion and Literary Expression,"), *Fu-Hui* (附會 "Organization,"), and *Jung-Ts'ai* (鎔裁 "Casting and Cutting").⁴ Our discussion of *Ch'ing-Ts'ai* is to illustrate Liu's organic concept of content and form; that of *Fu-Hui* and *Jung-Ts'ai* to elucidate Liu's idea about the relationship between parts and whole.

In the following discussion, the words

content and *form* are used in the general and popular sense: Content refers to the subject, the idea or emotion of a work, and form to the way the subject is treated. A work is organic when content and form are inseparable. When the two do not keep closely with each other, the work becomes an artistic failure. Liu seems to be fully aware of such an inseparable relationship. In *Ch'ing-Ts'ai*, he says,

Emotion is the warp of literary pattern, linguistic form the woof. Only if ideas are definite can linguistic form be meaningful. This is the fundamental principle in literary creation. (p. 247)

故情者，文之經，辭者，理之緯；
經正而後緯成，理定而後辭暢，此
立文之本源也。

12:

In "Evidence from the Sage," (徵聖) he expresses the same idea: "Ideas adequately expressed by words combined into literary forms — sincere sentiments embodied in masterly expressions: these are the touchstones of literary composition." (然則志足而言文，情信而辭巧，迺含章之玉牒，秉文之金科矣)。Here the "will" (志) and the "emotion" (情) are the determinants of the word and style. Only when these two are well combined, a thing of beauty can be created.

In addition to those remarks he randomly puts here and there, Liu devotes a whole chapter, "Emotion and Literary Expression," (情采) to discuss the unity between content and form. This chapter is divided into three parts: The first part discusses the relationship between content and form; the second part the dissociation between emotion and style; the third part the proper use of ornate and flourished style.

Liu begins his illustration of content and form by using a comparison:

Water by nature is plastic, allowing the formation of ripples, and it is of the essential nature of trees to be solid, supporting flowers on their calyxes. The ornamental pattern of a thing is of necessity conditioned by its essential nature.

夫水性虛而淪漪結，木體實而花萼振，文附質也。

The content (essential nature) determines the choice of a form. But this does not mean that Liu thinks content is more important than form, for he says further that

tigers and leopards, deprived of their patterns, would have the same kind of hide as dogs and sheep; and rhinoceros' skins require red varnish when they are made into armor. The essential nature of a thing also depends on its ornamental patterns. (p. 245)

虎豹無文，則鞶同犬羊；犀兕有皮，而色資丹漆，質待文也。

The function of the choice of a certain form is to make the inner feeling of a literary work more vivid and distinguishable. Thus the sound pattern, color pattern, and the emotional pattern become the forms respectively of music, embroidery, and literature. The expression of the emotional pattern in literature should follow a certain appropriate form.

Cosmetics are used to beautify the complexion, but the enchanting appeal in the look is born of natural beauty; similarly the function of literary decorativeness is to adorn discourse, and beauty of eloquence is based on real emotion. (p. 246)

夫鉛黛所以飾容，而盼倩生於淑姿；文采所以飾言，而辯麗本於情性。

Liu asserts that a piece of good writing

should have a unity between "real emotion" (*Ch'ing*) and "ornamental patterns" (*Ts'ai*).

In the second part of the essay Liu tries to distinguish two types of literary creation: One is writings which build their literary forms on emotion (爲情而造文), the other is those which create emotion to fit literary forms (爲文而造情). A good literary work is full of real emotions and opinions, therefore the Ancient Poets,

full of real emotions and opinions, sang of these emotions and opinions in satirical remonstrances against their superiors: this is what is meant by building literary forms on emotion. (p. 247)

志思蓄憤，而吟詠情性，以諷其上，此爲情而造文也。

The form *Fu*, with feeling neglected, ornate and flourished style used, is an inferior form. So Liu criticizes *Fu*, severely because of the lack of genuine emotions expressed in this type of writing:

However, for those who run after the secondary and overlook fundamentals, even if they did read one thousand *fu*, they would only sink deeper in their perplexity about its essential qualities. As a result, profuse flowers would tend to ruin the branches and rich viands to damage the bone, offering neither the values necessary to maintain moral principles nor any aid in the form of admonition and warning. (p. 66)

然逐末之傳，蔑棄其本，雖讀千賦，愈惑體要，遂使繁華損枝，膏腴害骨，無貴風軌，莫益勸戒。

Liu concludes the second part of the essay by using a comparison between a plant and a piece of writing. The fragrance of a flower depends on the

person that plants it, so a piece of literary writing is to express the inner feeling of a writer. Therefore, the literary expression of truth wholly depends on whether or not the inner feeling is justified by its words.

If words contradict the inner feeling, how can we look to the literary expressions for truth? (p. 248)

言與志反，文豈足徵？

In the last part of the essay, Liu warns writers off the defects coming from the over use of ornate style. The function of literary decorativeness is to make the emotions and ideas in the work more explicit and clear; over decorated style will make the content unintelligible.

We put sentences together to form beautiful patterns for the purpose of making our ideas clear. If the patterns become too florid and the rhetoric too eccentric, our ideas will be rendered vaguer than ever. (p. 249)

是以聯辭結采，將欲明理，采濫辭詭，則心理愈翳。

Just as a human being is a perfect union between his external form (body) and inner substance (emotion), so should an artistic work maintain a perfect unity between content and form.

In *Fu-Hui* and *Jung-Ts'ai*, Liu discusses the art of composition, emphasizing its organization, maintaining the inherent relationship between parts and whole, and thereby asserting the unification of content and form.

The purpose of casting (*Jung 鎔*) is to make the ideas of a composition explicit and possible for cutting off irrelevant ideas and feeling. The purpose of *Ts'ai* (裁) is to cut off digressions, redundancy,

and irrelevant and superfluous statements. After casting and cutting, the author can grasp the main ideas of his work and use precise language to express these ideas. Thus, Liu says, "The operation of cutting will prevent the growth of verbal weeds, and the process of casting will bring into relief the immanent logical order." In order to illustrate the unified structure of a work, Liu compares the superfluous ideas and words to the double finger and tumor of the body.

A double toe or finger is a superfluous part one is born with, and a tumor or goiter is a superfluous part acquired by one's body. In literature repetition of an idea is an intellectual polydactyle; and the redundancy of a phrase or sentence constitutes a tumor of the rhetoric. (p. 252)

駢拇枝指，由侈於性，附贅懸疣，實侈於形。一意兩出，義之駢枝也；同辭重句，文之疣贅也。

Just like the double finger or the tumor which is functionless in the body, irrelevant ideas and superfluous statements fail to keep with the other parts of a composition and, therefore, destroy the organic unity of it.

To make the composition an organic whole with proper emphasis, Liu suggests three criteria:

... a good beginning, consisting in choosing the correct genre as the appropriate medium for expressing the inner feeling; as the next proper step, the collection of material which is relevant to the theme; and as the final step, the creation of linguistic patterns forceful enough to raise the important points into relief. (p. 253)

履端於始，則設情以位體；舉正於中，則酌事以取類；歸餘於終，則撮辭以舉要。

The three steps will result in "unity, coherence, and order."

The similar idea of the organicity of things is also held by Aristotle in his *Poetics*:

The plot . . . must imitate one action and that a whole, the structural union of the parts being such that, if any one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be disjointed and disturbed. For a thing whose presence or absence makes no visible difference, is not an organic part of the whole.⁵ (Ch. VIII)

After a writer has established the above three steps, he should consider the choice of words. Essential ideas should be expressed in a short, pithy form consisting of condensed and precise statements. This does not mean, however, that he is restricted by irrefragible law of rhetorical economy. "A good condenser deletes words while he preserves ideas, and a good elaborator uses a number of different expressions to make the ideas clear." Whether the form is discursive or pithy depends not only on the writer's taste, but also, more importantly, on his mode of thought or the nature of ideas he tries to express. The close relationship between form and meaning is seen through the author's successful use of words and phrases which cannot be added or deleted randomly. Otherwise, as Liu observes,

Unity of the ideas suffers because of reduction, the result will be ideas instead of logic; and if redundancy results from the embellishment, the result will be and vague instead of resource-
 闕，則短乏而非聚；辭敷則蕪穢而非瞻。

Liu further makes an analogy between the art of composition and that of dress-making. The tailor will not throw disorder on the collar and sleeves of a dress because of the beautiful pattern of the material; the writer will not use exaggerated, ornate, and flourished irrelevant words to break the organic unity of the composition.

At the end of the chapter, Liu resumes his analogy between literary work and human body:

The hundred segments from one body, and all depend on the spirit for their being; and not a single one of all the various items in literary composition can be divorced from rhetorical expression on the one hand and the writer's feeling on the other. (p. 255)

夫百節成體，其資榮衛，萬趣會文，不離辭情。

As has been noted above, the primary concern of *Jung-Ts'ai* is to discuss the relationship between parts and whole in terms of "cutting" and "casting." Through the former method, rhetoric can avoid randomness and redundancy, through the latter, the content, that is, emotion and ideas, can be rationally controlled and concentrated. Thus, "when the emotions are moved, they express themselves in words; and when reason is born, it emerges in a pattern." (夫情動而言形，理發而文見 *T'i-Hsing* 體性 "Style and Nature").

The chapter titled *Fu-Hui* (附會 "Organization") further clarifies the inherent and necessary relationship between parts and whole and explains the importance of organic beauty. Liu begins his elucidation by defining the term *Fu-Hui*.

What is the meaning of fu-hui? It means

a comprehensive view of a literary piece as a whole with respect to both its language and its ideas; it provides an underlying principle to unify all its parts, it defines the conditions governing what should be included and what excluded, and works elements from all the various fields into harmony; in short, it organizes the whole piece in such a way that, though composed of a variety of elements, it will not as a whole fall short of the proper standard. (p. 321)

何謂附會？謂總文理，統首尾，定與奪，合涯際，彌綸一篇，使雜而不越者也。

Liu further makes another analogy between literary work and human body:

... feeling and ideas as the soul, of facts and meaning as the bone and marrow, of linguistic patterns as the musculature and integument, and of *kung* and *shang*, that is, the resonance of the language, as its voice and breath. (p. 321)

情志爲神明，事義爲骨髓，辭采爲肌膚，宮商爲聲氣。

Liu's statement on *Fu-Hui* reminds us of Coleridge's description of the function of secondary imagination which "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates" on the one hand, yet "struggles to idealize and to unify" on the other. Like Liu, Coleridge also tends to interpret beauty as something seen through unity. While Coleridge's concept of beauty emerges through the

functioning of the unifying imaginations, Liu sees beauty as a result of "a comprehensive principle" which, like the spring or the trunk that arranges "the forks and branches in order," gives "coherence to one hundred different kinds of ideas," and thus helps the writer to "achieve a close-knit organization from beginning to end."

Based on his concept of unity in variety, Liu warns us not to count the streaks of the tulip at the expense of the beauty of the flower seen as a whole:

The painter who pays close attention to a hair misses the portrait, and the archer who aims at the very small misses the wall. Preoccupation with the fine and small naturally involves looseness in the general structure of the whole. (p. 322)

夫畫者謹髮而易貌，射者儀毫而失牆，銳精細巧，必疎體統。

This by no means suggests that the individual elements of an essay are less important; their importance is seen only within the organic whole.

All the three chapters *Ch'ing-Ts'ai* (情采), *Jung-Ts'ai* (鎔裁), and *Fu-Hui* (附會) summarize Liu's concept of organicity of literature. What he emphasizes is the cohesion of the part into a whole, and thus the harmonic unity of content and form. Literature is an organic body, just like the organic body of a human body, an analogy Liu makes, is almost a universal ph

NOTES

1. Plato: *Phaedrus*, 264C. Quoted from *The Dialogue of Plato*, trans. Jowett (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), Vol. 1, p. 268.
2. Jackson Bate, ed. *Criticism: the Major Texts* (New York: Garden City, 1959), p. 2.
3. All the quotations are from Liu Hsieh, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, trans. and annotated, Vincent Y. C. Shih (Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1970).
4. Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. S. H. Butcher (New York, 1961).

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